TABLE OF CONTENTS.

No.	No. and Name.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
1	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 585**	1926 Dec. 29	Anglo-Turkish relations. Reports improvement in attitude of authorities and press...	1
2	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 19**	1927 Jan. 4	Ottoman Public Debt. Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs requests intervention by His Majesty's Government to secure acceptance by British bondholders of Turkish proposals in respect of Turkey's payment of her share of the debt	2
3	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 20**	„ 12	Turkish budget. Transmits and comments on detailed estimates of Government revenue for the financial year 1927-28	5
4	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 21**	„ 4	Kurdish question. Refers to No. 46, Part XII. Minister for Foreign Affairs states that Turkey will eliminate the Kurds	7
5	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 22**	„ 12	Angora Independence Tribunal. Review of its work since its beginning in March 1925	8
6	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 27. Conf.**	„ 18	Leading personalities in Turkey. Biographical notes ...	9
7	To Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 71.**	„ 28	Visit of Turkish Ambassador to Secretary of State. Reports Turkish Ambassador's remarks on Anglo-Turkish relations: Ottoman public debt; Italo-Jugo-slav relations; appointment of Turkish consul-general at Bagdad; status of Turks in Egypt and Iraq; establishment of foreign Embassies at Angora; and anti-Turkish propaganda among Kurds by British consuls in Persia	23
8	Sir P. Loraine ... **No. 29. Conf.**	„ 29	Greco-Turkish relations. Reports desire of Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs to effect a general improvement in relations with Turkey and his request for views of His Majesty's Government on the matter	24
9	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 37. Conf.**	„ 21	Annual report on heads of missions. Refers to No. 7, Part XI. Transmits report for 1926	25
10	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 42**	„ 26	Foreign legal counsellors in Turkey. Comments on the working of the system	30
11	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 44**	„ 26	Turco-American Treaty of Lausanne. Describes effect in Turkey of refusal of American Senate to ratify treaty	32
12	To Sir P. Loraine ... **No. 16. Tel.**	Feb. 11	Greco-Turkish relations. Refers to No. 8. His Majesty's Government will welcome steps conducing to improved relations	32
13	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 88**	„ 9	Turkey's relations with foreign Powers. Reports interview of correspondent of "Quotidien" and Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs	33
14	Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 89**	„ 9	Conditions in Eastern Thrace. Transmits report by Mr. Consul Dawkins of Adrianople	34
15	To Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 116**	„ 14	Ottoman Public Debt. Refers to No. 2. Reports views of Sir A. Block on necessity of official negotiations between Turkish Government and bondholders and statements of the Secretary of State to the Turkish Ambassador on this point	37
16	Sir M. Cheetham ... **No. 21**	1927 Feb. 17	Railway construction in Turkey. Reports that a Dano-Swedish combine has obtained from the Turkish Government a contract for constructing a railway from Angora to Eregli	38
17	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **Telegraphic**	„ 24	Ottoman Public Debt. Refers to No. 15. Reports conversation with Minister for Foreign Affairs, who agreed that official negotiations would now start ...	38
18	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 88**	„ 23	Italian policy in Turkey. Reports effect in Turkey of rumour that His Majesty's Government had given Italy a free hand in Turkey in return for Italian co-operation in China	39
19	Sir R. Graham ... **No. 159**	„ 25	Italian policy in Turkey. Stefani agency has published a denial of the existence of an Italo-British understanding with regard to Turkey	39
20	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 97**	Mar. 2	Independence Tribunals. Refers to No. 5. Turkish Government announce that the tribunals are to be abolished	39
21	Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 101**	„ 4	Independence Tribunals. Refers to No. 22. The National Assembly has decided not to prolong the mandate of the tribunals	40
22	Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 102**	„ 5	Attitude of British finance towards public works in Turkey. Discusses the terms of the contracts for railway construction obtained by Swedish and Belgian groups and advises British financial interests to proceed with caution in Turkey	40
23	Mr. Hoare ... ... **No. 114**	„ 8	Turco-Greek convention for liquidation of property claims. Reports approval of convention by National Assembly	43
24	Mr. Hoare ... ... **No. 117**	„ 9	Financing of railway construction in Turkey. Refers to No. 24. Reports on the financing of the Dano-Swedish group and their plans	43
25	Mr. Hoare ... ... **No. 133**	„ 15	Foreign relations and internal situation. Reports on Turkey's attitude towards Russia, Italy and Great Britain and on Turkey's economic situation	14
26	Mr. Hoare ... ... **No. 134. Conf.**	„ 16	Turco-American Treaty of Lausanne. Refers to No. 11. Reports the conclusion of a Turco-American agreement pending the ratification of the treaty by the American Senate	45
27	Mr. Hoare ... **No. 137**	„ 16	Turco-Russian Commercial Treaty. Refers to No. 27. Reports signature and gives substance...	48
28	Mr. Hoare ... ... **No. 148**	„ 23	Population problem in Turkey. Reports on Turkish efforts to induce Moslems from other countries to settle in Turkey	51
29	Mr. Hoare ... ... **No. 158. Conf.**	„ 30	Social life in Angora. Refers to No. 72, Part XI. Reports improvement in tone, and refers to Ghazi's eulogy of Great Britain in conversation with Mr. Hadow	52
30	Parliamentary Question	Apr. 6	Transfer of Embassy to Angora. Mr. Scurr enquires whether His Majesty's Ambassador resides in Angora and is informed that it is not at present possible for the Ambassador to reside permanently at Angora... ...	53
31	Mr. Hoare ... ... **No. 168**	„ 6	Superior Economic Council. Reports creation and describes functions of	53
32	Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 192**	„ 20	Kurdish raids from Persia into Turkey and state of Kurdistan. Turkish press reports that Persia has been asked to prevent raids	55

No. and Name.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
33 Mr. Kennard ... ... No. 163	1927 Apr. 21	Rumoured mission of General Zivkovic to Turkey. Comments on rumours	56
34 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 2. Tel.	„ 27	Visit of Jugoslavian General Zivkovic to Turkey. Refers to No. 35. Minister for Foreign Affairs denies knowledge of the general's alleged mission. His attitude towards Jugoslavia was cold	56
35 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 3. Tel.	„ 27	Visit of General Zivkovic and Turco-Jugoslav relations. Refers to No. 20. Minister for Foreign Affairs described relations with Italy as excellent	56
36 Mr. Kennard ... ... No. 173	„ 25	Rumoured visit of General Zivkovic to Turkey. Refers to No. 35. Reports that projected pleasure trip of General Zivkovic to Constantinople did not take place owing to alarm aroused by the project among foreign Legations	57
37 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 204	May 3	British participation in public works in Turkey. Refers to No. 24. Gives views on conditions under which British firms should engage in enterprises in Turkey ...	57
38 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 207	„ 3	Foreign interest in railway construction in Turkey. Refers to No. 24. Reports on negotiations between Turkish Government and German and British firms ...	59
39 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 208	Apr. 27	Rumoured visit of General Zivkovic to Turkey. Reports summary of conversation between Italian Ambassador and Tewfik Rushdi about the Balkan position... ...	59
40 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 224	May 11	Presentation of letters of credence by Bulgarian Minister. Reports that M. Pavloff has presented his letters of credence	60
41 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 248	„ 26	Departure of Admiral Bristol. Reviews Admiral Bristol's career in Turkey	60
42 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 267	June 1	Despatch of British warships to Egypt. Discusses impression created in the Turkish press	61
43 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 272	„ 1	Turco-Russian Commercial Treaty. Refers to No. 20. Forwards text	61
44 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 291	„ 8	Departure of Shukri Kaya Bey for Geneva. Reports departure of Shukri Kaya Bey to attend International Labour Conference, and discusses Turkey's attitude towards the League of Nations	69
45 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 297	„ 9	Angora statesmen and Turkey's state. Transmits memorandum by Mr. Knox on the problems of government in Turkey and on Turkish personalities at Angora	70
46 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 303	„ 14	Minorities in Turkey. Offers observations on the Turkish treatment of non-Moslem minorities	80
47 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 317	„ 22	Railway construction in Turkey. Refers to No. 38. Reports signature of convention between Turkish Government and Julius Berger of Berlin	81
48 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 318	„ 22	Economic condition of Turkey. Comments on the economic and financial state of Turkey ...	82
49 Sir G. Clerk ... ... No. 321	„ 22	Kurdistan. Reports that Turkish Government are forbidding Kurdish tribes from Iraq to enter Turkey and are transferring Kurds from Kurdistan to other parts of Turkey	85

Subject Index.

[The figures refer to serial numbers of documents.]

American-Turkish Treaty of Lausanne.—11, 26.

Anglo-Turkish relations.—1, 7, 27, 29.

Angora—
Residence of Ambassadors at.—7, 9, 39.
Social life at.—29.
Political conditions at.—45.

Bristol, departure of Admiral.—41.

British financial attitude towards Turkey.—22, 37.

Budget, Turkish.—3.

Bulgarian Minister, appointment of.—10.

Egypt—
Treatment of Turks in.—7.
Effect in Turkey of despatch of British warships to.—42.

Financial and economic situation of Turkey.—2, 3, 22, 25, 31, 48.

Foreign (legal) counsellors.—10.

Franco-Turkish relations.—13.

Greco-Turkish convention for liquidation of property claims.—23.

Greco-Turkish relations.—8, 12.

Heads of missions. Annual report on.—9.

Immigration of Moslems into Turkey.—5, 28.

Independence tribunals.—5, 20, 21.

Ipranossian Brothers.—10.

Iraq—
Appointment of Turkish consul-general in.—7.
Treatment of Turks in.—7.

Italian designs on Turkey, denial of reports of.—18, 19.

Italo-Turkish relations.—7, 13, 25, 33, 39.

Kurdish question.—4, 5, 7, 32, 49.

League of Nations. Turkish attitude towards.—1, 13, 44.

Minorities in Turkey.—46.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha.—6, 45.

Ottoman Public Debt negotiations.—2, 7, 15, 17.

Perso-Turkish relations.—32.

Personalities, Turkish.—6, 45.

Population problems in Turkey.—28.

Railway construction in Turkey.—16, 22, 24, 38, 47.

Russo-Turkish relations.—13, 25.

Russo-Turkish Commercial Treaty.—27, 43.

Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Mission of General Zivkovic to Turkey.—33, 34, 36, 39.

Situation in Turkey.—45.

Syria. Treatment of Turks in.—7.

Thrace. Report on Eastern.—14.

Turkish Ambassador. Conversation with.—7, 15.

Turkey's relations with foreign Powers.—13, 25.

Younous Nady.—1.

Printed for the use of the Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting Turkey.

Part XIII.

[E 17/17/44] No. 1.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(*Received January* 3, 1927.)

(No. 685.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 29, 1926.

SINCE my arrival here I have had the honour to report several indications of an improvement in Anglo-Turkish relations. Not only was my own reception at Angora distinctly friendly, but the attitude of the Turkish authorities on a number of questions of minor importance has been more helpful of late. The press also has reflected this change of tone. We are now far from the days when His Majesty's Government were held up to the Turkish public as the disturber of the peace, as the jealous Imperialist who could not forgive the new Turkey for bursting her swathing bands and trying to take her place as an equal among the European nations.

2. There was no journalist in Turkey who did more to misrepresent the policy of His Majesty's Government during the Mosul crisis than Younous Nady, the editor of the "République," and there is no journalist here to-day who is going so far in the opposite direction. I do not know what impression Younous Nady made on you, Sir, when you saw him at Geneva, but my own belief is that he is neither possessed of any deep political convictions nor has the courage of such opinions as may find favour with him. On the contrary, his aim is to reflect the opinions of those in power at Angora and, when he launches on anything in the nature of a political campaign, he never strays far from the path which the Government would consider strictly orthodox. For this reason, I am disposed to attach some importance to his wanderings in Europe and to the articles which he is sending to his paper from abroad.

3. In his article which appeared in the "République" on the 27th December, Younous Nady adopts a distinctly friendly attitude towards the League of Nations. One has not got to read far between the lines to discover that it is practically an invitation to Turkey to join the League. To begin with, he emphasises the predominant rôle played by England at Geneva and, still more, the predominant rôle played by England in Europe. He lays stress on the importance of Germany's adhesion, and adds that he cannot quite understand why Russia does not follow suit. Even America, he asserts, is far from hostile, and he expects that the day is not far distant when she, too, will join. Of the Great Powers, Italy alone is cool in her allegiance. Italy did not draw the same advantages from the war as her other Allies. She does not like to see herself tied hand and foot by the League, yet she cannot make up her mind to burst the bonds which tie her to the League. Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that in Italy, too, calm and logic will prevail.

4. As regards the smaller Powers in the League, Younous Nady maintains —and this seems to me of importance, for Turkey recognises that she is a small Power—that in spite of the predominance of England, they, too, are treated on an equality with the others. Provided that a nation is really conscious of her separate existence, the Great Powers cannot by violence change her frontiers.

5. The conclusion which Younous Nady draws from these observations is that, in order to safeguard her rights and interests, Turkey should take a more active part in the life of Europe and should display a vigilance greater than that of all other nations in a similar position.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 254/147/44] No. 2.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(*Received January* 17.)

(No. 19.)
Sir, *Angora, January* 4, 1927.

AT the close of an interview on current business with the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday evening his Excellency suddenly made a long and earnest appeal to me on the coupons question.

2. He said that the Turkish Government honestly wish to settle this matter, the last of the outstanding hindrances to the re-establishment of completely friendly relations with the Western Powers, and that they are ready to strain their resources to the utmost limit to do so, but, if the bondholders insist on conditions which Turkey is materially incapable of fulfilling, the tentative offers already made, which are entirely unofficial and have only been put forward on the initiative of the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself, must be withdrawn and the intention of starting official negotiations must be abandoned until a more propitious time arrives.

3. According to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the present official position is that the bondholders have demanded £T. 2,500,000 gold and the Turks have offered £T. 1,500,000 gold, this payment to cover all claims. But, unofficially, the Turkish Government and the Finance Commission, persuaded thereto by the Minister for Foreign Affairs' arguments of high policy, would agree in practice to £T. 2 million gold, though no mention of this figure must be made in any formal agreement which has to be submitted for sanction to the National Assembly, since that body would unhesitatingly reject it, and some means must therefore be devised to get over this particular fence. Another essential point is that the Turkish exchange must be safeguarded. Payment of £T. 2 million gold represents to-day some £T. 18 million or £T. 20 million to be paid annually, and unless due precaution is taken this may spell disaster to the rate of exchange.

4. Tewfik Rushdi had hoped, fortified therein by the assurances given him by the last French Ambassador, M. Sarraut, that the present discussions in Paris would result in an understanding that official negotiations would open on the basis of an offer of £T. 1,500,000 gold by the Turks and a demand for £T. 2,500,000 gold by the bondholders, with a tacit agreement to compound on £T. 2 million gold and an assurance that means would be devised to secure the Turkish exchange from depreciating as a consequence of having to make this payment.

5. His Excellency told me that M. Sarraut had assured him that the French bondholders would agreed to "la moyenne," that is approximately 2 millions, but his Excellency had not appealed to M. Sarraut's successor to ask the French Government to use its influence in this direction with the Council of Foreign Bondholders because he knew all too well that that Government would demand a price of some sort for its acquiescence. His Excellency did, however, appeal to His Majesty's Government because he knew he was quite safe on that score and also because he was informed that the main obstacle to settlement on the above lines was the attitude of Sir Adam Block. There was no doubt on this point in his Excellency's mind, for he had had it unofficially but very distinctly from the French that though, under pressure from Sir Adam Block, they spoke as they did officially, privately they were quite prepared to accept 2 millions.

6. Tewfik Rushdi added, but expressly not as an argument that need or should carry weight with His Majesty's Government, that his personal position was at stake. His Mosul policy was unpopular, but if with the help of His Majesty's Government he settled the coupons question he would be justified. If the coupons negotiations fell through, the Assembly would demand his head, and get it, and the really sincere effort of the Turkish Government for friendship with us would then be lost labour.

7. I said that I could not accept the charge of obstruction against Sir Adam Block. I was convinced that he was as desirous as any one else of reaching a settlement, and if it were indeed the case, as to which I had no information, that the present attitude of the council corresponded with Sir Adam's views, it merely showed that that body considered they were well founded, and it seemed to me that it was for the Turkish representatives to convince the council to the contrary. I went on to say that his Excellency must be aware that His Majesty's Government, glad though they would be to see agreement reached, could not and would not exert pressure on the British bondholders, still less on those of other nationalities, to make sacrifices which the official representatives of those people, namely, the council, considered unjustified. I added that none the less, in view of the urgent nature of his Excellency's appeal, I would transmit it to you.

8. I venture to annex to this despatch a copy of a letter which I wrote to Mr. Oliphant on the 15th December last, as the opinion which I then expressed represents such observations as I would now make on Tewfik Rushdi's appeal. His Excellency no doubt put his case with a touch of exaggeration, but I do not think that he is altogether bluffing, certainly not as regards his own position. Far be it from me to suggest that we should step an inch out of our way to save Tewfik Rushdi's political neck, but, whether Tewfick Rushdi or another be in office, from a political point of view a settlement of the coupons questions seems to be the culminating point of the move towards good relations which started with the signing of the Mosul Treaty. If, therefore, His Majesty's Government alone were concerned, I should advocate the acceptance of Tewfik Rushdi's offer, though making it very clear that the settlement of this particular question in no sort of way, explicit or implicit, conveyed an understanding that the London money market would then and there be open to the Turkish Government. As things are, however, our hands are more or less tied by the fact that the primary interests involved are those of the bondholders, who have already suffered severely. I cannot say whether the bondholders would have much chance of getting a better offer two or three years from now, especially the British bondholders who, if I am rightly informed, come off proportionately better than any of the others under the present suggestion, and to break off seems rather like refusing a bankrupt's offer of 3*s.* in the £ down, in the hope that by giving him another chance to recover his losses he may pay 15*s.* in the £ in ten years' time. But this is frankly a layman's opinion and I should not be warranted in asking the Foreign Office to press it officially upon the British members of the Council of Foreign Bondholders and their advisers, who are far more qualified than I am to judge the actual financial capacity of the Turks, present and future. I can only reiterate my conviction that to miss this opportunity of settling the coupons question will mean an unhappy set back to our general relations with the Turkish Republic.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 2.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. Oliphant.

My Dear Lancelot, *Constantinople, December* 15, 1926.

MANY thanks for sending me Block's letter to you of the 5th December and the resolution of the Council of Foreign Bondholders.

The latter document is very technical, but seems to show that the bondholders are tying the Turks down pretty tight as regards the essential preliminary conditions to any agreement, but that the terms of such an agreement are still left quite open to discussion. I don't know yet what effect the resolution has had on the Turks, though I may glean something on my next visit to Angora. Let us hope that the Turks will realise that the resolution is not an attempt to squeeze them, but an essential and practical preliminary to a settlement.

Meanwhile, here is the fruit of some cogitation on the general question, which, now that Mosul is out of the way, is the one big contentious point left between us and the Turks, and one which it is greatly to our interest to get settled if possible.

2. Niemeyer, in his letter to Seydoux of the 29th October (Foreign Office despatch to Constantinople, No. 919, of the 11th November), asked three questions:—

(*a.*) Are the Turks really desirous now of making a genuine settlement, and do they intend to carry it out?

(*b.*) Do the Turks appreciate that they have got to re-establish their credit, not only by making a paper settlement, but by making payments under that settlement, before they can hope to approach international markets?

(*c.*) Does the actual position of Turkish finance suggest that they could in fact pay out of revenue in cash any substantial sum now?

and in his letter of the 12th November to Seydoux (Foreign Office despatch to Constantinople, No. 951, of the 22nd November), he asks, as a corollary to question (b), whether the Turks clearly understand that any settlement now made does not imply, and is not contingent, morally or otherwise, on their being assisted to raise public loans.

3. These are searching and fundamental questions, and Niemeyer's implied answer is distinctly negative. My reply to them would rather be as follows :—

(*a.*) I am of opinion that the Turks do want a genuine settlement, because until there is such a settlement they feel that their relations with the Great Western Powers, and especially with us, cannot be really satisfactory. Further, I think they intend to carry out any settlement to which they put their signature, but of course the proof of this particular pudding is very much in the eating. The Turks can only prove their good faith by actually fulfilling their undertakings. As regards the moratorium, I incline to the view that this was put in as a bargain counter and that, if they were allowed a moratorium for the sinking fund, they would be ready to pay interest to the bondholders forthwith.

To (*b*) I would answer "Yes," as regards the Turks' realising that they must re-establish their reputation for honesty by making prompt and punctual payment, and a not very certain "No," as regards their desire to obtain large foreign loans. With their present mentality they look on foreign loans with dread, and they intend, so far as they can, to worry through on their own resources. But they want also to get on with their railways and harbours and so on, and they will therefore make use of foreign capital, if they can get it in a form which safeguards them from foreign domination. They are doing so, for instance, in the case of the two railways which the Swedish and Belgian group are offering to construct. I should, however, hesitate to say that Turkey will in the near future try to raise a large foreign loan, for she knows that the conditions would be too onerous, and she has no intention of submitting herself again to such a régime as that of the Administration of the Ottoman Debt.

As to question (*c*), which is really the most fundamental one of all, I know that Block—and he speaks of course with great authority—is pessimistic. Moreover, there is, I hear, an undoubted shortage of cash at Angora at the moment. Knox hears that for months past none of the German firms working for the Government there have been able to extract a piastre. And I know that the Danish Chargé d'Affaires is a good deal worried as to the chances of his countrymen, who are sharing in the Swedish business, burning their fingers. But against that I might point out that for the last six years the estimated revenue of the Turkish budget has steadily increased. It is true that every year until the present one the estimated expenditure has shown a deficit. But nothing has been heard of the deficit in the succeeding year. The natural inference is therefore that in each year the actual revenue that has come in has exceeded the estimate sufficiently to swallow the deficit and to justify the higher estimate for the next year. If I am to believe sound local observers, there was a real deficit this current year for the first time, and that is why the estimates for next year, instead of continuing the upward progression, have remained at about the same figure—or a little less—than last year. In short, the Turk is living within his means.

Nor need one attach necessarily too great importance to the yearly deficits. The Turk is not going to show a handsome surplus on his year's revenue until the coupons question is settled, for if he did, the bondholders would at once come down and say, "Well, what about us?" I do not say that this is a very honourable attitude on the part of the Turk, but it seems both natural and likely.

Lastly, Reid of the Ottoman Bank, who should know, tells me that the Turks could certainly pay the 20 million liras, which, at the present exchange, represents roughly, interest and sinking-fund on £T. 2 million gold, but that some scheme would have to be devised to save the Turkish exchange from being knocked endways in the process. Balancing the pros and cons, my general impression is that we might try for an agreement on a basis of, say, £2 million sterling, with a three or five years' moratorium for the sinking fund, but not for interest to the bondholders.

I feel that I have been here too short a time to warrant me in setting forth these views in an official despatch, but I am moved to submit them to you, for, whether I am right or wrong in what I have written above, I am sure we should do all we can to secure a settlement of the Turkish debt. If the present negotiations break down, the other foreign bondholders, in spite of their acceptance of Block's resolution, will not be slow to give the Turks to understand that it we who prevented a settlement, and the reaction on our relations with Turkey will be most unfortunate.

G. R. CLERK.

P.S.—My despatch No. 664 of the 15th December, sent by this bag, shows well in what form the Turks are ready to accept foreign financial assistance. If they can find enough people rash enough to accept such conditions, so much the better for them, but their meeting of their obligations under these railway contracts will be a good test both of their sincerity and of their capacity to pay.

The accompanying table explains my observations about the budget.

G. R. C.

Enclosure 2 in No. 2.

BUDGETS.

Revenue.

	Estimates voted. £T.	Revenue realised. £T.	Difference. £T.
1922–23	60,619,150	71,729,636	11,110,486*
1923–24	94,537,874	111,271,945	16,734,071*
1924–25	129,164,610	135,786,000	6,621,390†
1925–26	153,046,854	150,849,978	2,196,876†

In some cases credits voted are not really expended, cuts being effected during the year.

[E 255/255/44] No. 3.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 17.)

(No. 20.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 12, 1927.*

WITH reference to Mr. Hoare's despatch No. 598 of the 10th November last relative to the Turkish budget estimates for the financial year 1927-28, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a translation, prepared by the Ottoman Bank, of the detailed estimates of Government revenue for the period in question.‡ A statement of Government expenditure was transmitted under cover of my above-mentioned despatch, but, as the result of slight modifications in various Departmental credits, the total expenditure sanctioned by the Council of Ministers was increased from £T. 188,798,779 to £T. 188,807,330, and a revised list of Department votes is also attached.* As the Government estimates that revenues during the financial year 1927-28 will amount to £T. 188,811,379, the budget thus shows a surplus of £T. 4,049.

2. No *compte rendu* is presented by the Ministry of Finance to the Assembly at the close of each financial year which would serve to indicate to what extent the Government's estimates of revenue have been realised, and it is of interest, therefore, to analyse the principal revenues shown on the attached list,* which, for the most part, have been based on the actual fiscal receipts for the first four months of the present financial year.

3. *Direct Taxation.*—The revenues under the heading of direct taxation, which include the taxes on landed property, land, profits, exoneration from military service, capitation tax, tax on live stock, succession duties and mines and forests under private exploitation, are estimated to yield £T. 43,301,000 as against £T. 39,211,000 for the

* According to official *compte rendu*.

† According to the declarations of the Minister of Finance.

‡ Not printed.

current financial year, an increase of £T. 4,090,000. The principal increases in this section are in respect to—

(a.) *The Land Tax.*—This tax, estimated to bring in £T. 6,750,000 during the current financial year, actually realised £T. 9,000,000 during the first four months of the year, and the estimates for the coming year have, therefore, been provisionally fixed at £T. 9,500,000.

(b.) *The Profits Tax.*—The revenue to be derived from this source during the current financial year was in the Government's estimates finally assessed at £T. 9,260,000. The actual receipts during the first four months of the financial year under this heading amounted to £T. 6,000,000, and, although a large proportion of this tax is paid during the early months of each financial year, the Government has estimated that the tax during the coming financial year will yield £T. 9,750,000, an increase of £T. 490,000.

(c.) *Tax on Live Stock.*—This tax was estimated to bring in £T. 9,451,000 during the present financial year, but, in view of the fact that £T. 8,800,000 has already been collected, the estimates for 1927–28 have been increased to £T. 12,001,000.

4. *Indirect Taxation.*—This section comprises customs duties, consumption taxes, maritime dues, sanitary taxes and fishing and hunting dues. The estimates of revenue to be derived from this section in 1927–28 amount to £T. 72,446,000 as against £T. 78,746,000 for the current financial year, thus showing a decrease of £T. 6,300,000.

(a.) *Customs Duties.*—The estimates under the heading of customs duties have been reduced from £T. 39,750,000 for 1926–27 to £T. 32,750,000 for the coming financial year. The customs receipts during the first four months of the financial year amounted to £T. 10,633,000.

(b.) *Consumption Taxes.*—(1.) The turnover tax: This tax was estimated to bring in £T. 15,000,000 during the present year and, judged by the yield during the first four months, this estimate will be realised at the close of the financial year. In view of the impending modification of this tax, which will be known as the "transaction tax," the revenue from this source during the coming financial year has been assessed at £T. 17,000,000.

(2.) Sugar and petroleum consumption taxes: The estimates under this section for 1926–27 amounted to £T. 21,000,000, but during the first four months of the current financial year the receipts amounted to only £T. 5,000,000. The Government has, however, estimated the yield in 1927–28 at £T. 20,000,000.

5. *Monopolies.*—This section includes the following monopolies: Tobacco, salt, sugar, petroleum and benzine, matches, alcohol and alcoholic liquors, revolvers and industrial explosives, posts and telegraphs, and the Mint. The estimates for 1926–27 under this section amounted to £T. 45,999,000, whilst for the coming financial year revenues are estimated at £T. 48,076,525, an increase of £T. 2,077,525.

(a.) *Tobacco.*—This monopoly, estimated to produce a revenue of £T. 15,000,000 during the current year, actually realised £T. 5,800,000 during the first four months, and revenues for the coming financial year have, therefore, been estimated at £T. 17,000,000.

(b.) *Salt.*—The revenue under this heading is estimated at £T. 9,000,000 for the coming financial year, an increase of £T. 500,000 over the current year's estimates. The revenue collected by the fiscal authorities under this heading during the first four months of the financial year amounted to £T. 3,125,000.

(c.) *Sugar.*—The actual receipts for the first three months of the year amounted to £T. 1,900,000, and the revenue for the coming financial year has been estimated at £T. 4,500,000.

(d.) *Petroleum and Benzine.*—The monopoly tax was estimated to yield £T. 4,000,000, and the actual receipts for the first four months of the financial year were £T. 1,600,000. As, however, a draft law is now before the Assembly to reduce the monopoly tax from 8 piastres to 1 piastre per kilo., the revenue to be derived from this source for 1927–28 is estimated at £T. 1,200,000. It will be observed that this reduction is by no means in proportion to the reduction in the monopoly tax.

(e.) The revenue to be derived from the match, alcohol, and revolver and industrial explosives monopolies is fixed by contract with the companies to which the administration of these monopolies has been conceded and the Government has based its estimates of revenue in accordance with the terms of the relevant contracts.

6. *Stamp Duties, Registration Taxes.*—This section shows an increase of £T. 900,000 as compared with the current financial year, but the only section of interest is that concerning the issue of identity cards which, as the result of the new census to be taken, are estimated to bring in £T. 1,200,000 in 1927–28 as against only £T. 100,000 during the current financial year.

7. *State Establishments.*—The revenues under this section, which includes State schools, agricultural, veterinary, industrial and sanitary establishments, State mines and forests and the sale of State property, have been estimated to yield £T. 8,200,000, as against £T. 10,180,000 during the current financial year. The decrease in this section is due to the fact that a large proportion of house property belonging to the State will be ceded to the Banque immobilière.

8. As regards Government credits, the distribution is effected as follows:—

	Proposed for 1927.	Voted in 1926.
	£T.	£T.
Salaries of Government officials .	26,520,156	25,314,556
Allowances	35,841,859	42,097,026
Remaining Government expenditure	126,445,315	122,665,362

9. Article 2 of the Budget Law for the current financial year stipulates that each Department must reduce its personnel by at least 3 per cent. by the end of May 1927. The total number of Government officials in 1926 was 66,989, but in the estimates for 1927–28 provision is made for only 62,170, a reduction of 4,819, or 7 per cent.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 256/74/85] No. 4.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(*Received January* 17.)

(No. 21.)

Sir, *Angora, January* 4, 1927.

IN my despatch No. 621 of the 24th November last I reported a declaration of a drastic policy towards the Kurds which the Minister for Foreign Affairs had made in conversation with the High Commissioner for Iraq.

2. In an interview with Tewfik Rushdi yesterday evening I brought this topic into our talk and found his Excellency as uncompromising as when he spoke to Sir Henry Dobbs. He enunciated his theory of historical philosophy. The pendulum swings between a period of empire or federation and one of independent nations and races; the British Empire alone in history has had the political wisdom to adapt itself to the growth of separatist forces and so to preserve its structure; the pendulum has now reached the maximum of its swing towards individual and separate nations and the swing back into groups, if not into empires, is already noticeable. The process is inevitable, but in its course small national units must disappear, or only survive precariously because their absorption by one of their bigger neighbours means war with the others. independent existence for all small nationalities of 1 or 2 millions, *e.g.*, Albania, is henceforth impossible. Thus the Kurds, too, are inevitably doomed, but in their case their cultural level is so low, their mentality so backward, that they cannot be simply assimilated in the general Turkish body politic. Like what his Excellency called "the Hindus of America," by which presumably he meant the Red Indians, they will die out, economically unfitted for the struggle for life in competition with the more advanced and cultured Turks, who will be settled in the Kurdish districts. After all there are less than 500,000 Kurds in Turkey to-day, of whom as many as can will emigrate into Persia and Iraq, while the rest will simply undergo the elimination of the unfit.

3. It is hard to believe that such views are seriously held by a responsible Minister, and yet I believe they are. Even more amazing than their naiveté is the childish under-estimation of the difficulties facing the Turks. Tewfik Rushdi's 500,000 Kurds in Turkey are, by all reliable accounts, far below the real figure. One of the few men qualified to judge, a Governor of Cæsarea in former days, told me that before the war there were at least 2½ million Kurds in Turkey, and that there cannot be less than 1½ million to-day, and that the Turks can never hope to eliminate them. We know little of what is happening in Kurdistan, but we do know that Turkey is keeping an army there, spending proportionately vast sums of her revenue in the process, and that there are no signs as yet of Kurdish extinction.

Copies to Bagdad and Tehran.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 257/257/44] No. 5.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 17.)

(No. 22.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 12, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Angora Independence Tribunal has recently issued a brief statistical report of its labours, which is not uninteresting. It is rather grim reading and it may be supposed that the political offenders are many more than is admitted.

2. Since the beginning of March 1925, when the tribunal started, over 1,000 persons, it is stated, have been accused of political offences, while no less than 800 have been had up for brigandage. The ordinary citizen may therefore balance against his dread of the political investigations of the tribunal the consoling thought that something has been done by this summary court in the way of keeping down brigandage, which was the scourge of old Turkey, for security in the west of Turkey has probably never been so good as it is now. But, though the members of the Independence Tribunal are met with every form of obsequiousness wherever they go, they are not popular. Most peoples, even if so passive as the Turkish, probably prefer to be modernised in their own way. The Angora Independence Tribunal exists to see that the Turks modernise themselves in the Ghazi's way, a process which has entailed this year the execution of 125 persons and the condemnation of well over 500 to prison.

3. The Ghazi's private opinion is that the country needs a despotism, benevolent but resolute, underneath the republican form of government, and the above figures, which are probably considerably understated, are one outcome of this view. Not that there is not something to be said for his policy. Were the country not run with a firm hand, internecine strife—even if it did not let the foreigner into the country—might still cause as much actual human suffering as the Independence Tribunals.

4. Distance makes it still harder to learn anything about the doings of the Independence Tribunal at El Aziz, near Kharput, which is in the main occupied with Kurds. It is admitted that the work of pacification is still far from finished and that, until the disloyal Kurds are extirpated, the tribunal will be needed. The policy of breaking up the Kurdish tribes, disarming everyone and deporting at any rate the leaders, is still being followed. Military law in the eastern vilayets has been extended till the 23rd November next, and nearly half the entire army is occupied in putting this policy into effect with varying success. The press last month published tributes to the army for chastising the Kotch-Ushaghi tribe in the Dersim, which had evidently resisted the efforts of the military authorities to bring it to book.

5. For the settlement in Western Anatolia of the Kurdish families deported from Bayazid and elsewhere—or such of them as do not perish in the process of deportation—a Bill is to be presented to the Assembly. But, as it deals only with some 2,000 persons, it may be inferred either that the troops have not been able to hunt down many of the Kurdish mischief-makers or, more probably, that of those in any way connected with the rebels, not many who have been caught have survived.

6. For the filling of the void made in the Kurdish district by the removal of Kurds, the settlement of immigrants is contemplated. It is hoped that Moslem immigrants may be obtained from Jugoslavia, from the Dobruja, from Bulgaria, from Cyprus and from the Caucasus. But unless pressure is applied by the Governments of those countries, these hopes are likely to prove over-sanguine. The experiences of the Moslems who were transplanted into Turkey from Greece are far from encouraging. Peasantry who in the land of the giaour are fairly prosperous and may wear their fezes and say their prayers without loss of esteem are not likely to be anxious to be dumped in the inhospitable regions of Kurdistan in order that they may make a new start in life in cloth caps. Turkey can now hardly make the appeal which once it did as Dar-ul-Islam.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch direct to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 398/398/44] No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 24.)

(No. 27. Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 18, 1927.*

WITH reference to your circular despatch dated the 22nd July last, I have the honour to transmit herewith biographical notes on the leading personalities in Turkey.

2. In this connection, I beg to invite reference to my despatch No. 647 of the 8th December last, in which were enclosed notes on the chief personalities in the Turkish journalistic world.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 6.

Notes on the Leading Personalities in Turkey.

Abdul Halik Bey, Mustafa.

BORN at Yanina about 1870. Belongs to a family of Albanian Tosks. Educated at Yanina and at Mulkie College, Constantinople. In 1908 appointed member of the Council of State. Uncle by marriage of the late Talaat Pasha. 1910–11 Vali of Uskub. 1914–15 Vali of Van. For a short period in 1915 was Under-Secretary for the Interior. 1915–16 Vali of Bitlis and 1916–17 of Aleppo. Again became Under-Secretary for the Interior, holding post until the armistice. Arrested in May 1920 and deported to Malta on charge of atrocities committed at Aleppo during the war. Learnt to play tennis and bridge there. In 1923 was Vali of Smyrna, when he got on well with Europeans. In July elected Deputy of Kiangri. In January 1924 succeeded Hassan Fehmi Bey as Minister of Finance and held post till March 1925. Resigned on fall of Fethi Bey and became director-general of the Agricultural Bank and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Finance. In July 1926 again became Minister of Finance.

Abdul Halik Bey knows Greek well and French. A man of some administrative capacity. Owed his early advancement to his relationship with Talaat Pasha, and was never a prominent Unionist figure. Now has the confidence of Mustafa Kemal.

Adnan Bey, Dr.

Born about 1880. Trained in Germany as physician, and was formerly medical adviser to Talaat Pasha. During the war was a prominent member of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 became secretary-general of the Red Crescent Society and a Deputy for Constantinople. In January 1920 went to Angora and threw in his lot with Mustafa Kemal, and in May became Minister of Public Health. In August became temporarily Minister of the Interior and in March 1921 Vice-President of the Assembly. In June 1922 became Minister of Public Works, but resigned in July. Was again for a time Vice-President of the Assembly, but in December was appointed to Constantinople as delegate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which post he held until June 1924, having previously opted for his Deputyship for Constantinople to which he had been elected in the previous year. Proceeded to Europe and gradually became associated with Refet Pasha and Reouf

and Jambulat Beys in their opposition to Mustafa Kemal. In November he resigned from the People's Republican party and became vice-president of the Executive Bureau of the new reformed Progressive party. In February 1926 he resigned his Deputyship nominally on grounds of ill-health, having been resident in London in the previous year. In August 1926 he was tried by default for participation in the plot against the life of the President, but was acquitted and in December it was rumoured that he had asked from Angora permission to return to Turkey.

Adnan Bey is a tall, pleasant man, with a delicate constitution. Is cultured and speaks French well. Moderate in his views and owes much to his reputation for honesty and to his being the husband of Halidé Edib Hanum, the well-known Turkish novelist. Was a strong supporter of Mustafa Kemal in the early stages of the Nationalist movement, but his moderate and anti-Bolshevist sentiments made him suspect.

Ahmed Ferid Bey.

Born at Broussa in 1875. Passed through Harbié Military College in 1898 with rank of staff captain. Later went to Paris and studied at School of Political Science. Only returned to Turkey after 1908. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress and became Deputy for Kutahia. In 1910 joined the *Entente libérale* party and was exiled by the Committee of Union and Progress in 1913. He made his peace with Talaat Pasha in 1915 and became consul-general at Kiev in November 1917. Recalled in December 1918, he resumed attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 was Minister of Public Works and of Finance under Damad Ferid Pasha. He resigned in July owing to his desire to reach an understanding with Mustafa Kemal. Joined the Nationalist cause in April 1920 and soon afterwards became Minister of Finance. In September 1920 attended the Baku Congress and soon afterwards appeared rather pro-Bolshevik. In November 1921 was appointed representative of the Angora Government at Paris, which post he held till February 1923, when he was recalled because of certain offensive remarks made regarding the Allies. In spite of opposition in the Assembly, he became Minister of the Interior in October 1923. Was the subject of many attacks both in the Assembly and the press, but continued to hold the post till May 1924. Appointed Ambassador at London in June 1925.

Ferid Bey speaks good French and Arabic. A thorough opportunist and rather unscrupulous.

Ahmed Muhtar Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1871. Studied at French school and Military College in Constantinople. In 1891 received a post in the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in due course becoming its sub-Director-General. In May 1910 consul-general at Budapest. In 1912 Minister at Athens. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress and in 1913 was for a short time Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 1917 Minister at Kiev. Returned to Turkey in March 1919. Became Deputy for Constantinople. Escaped to Anatolia in June 1920 and joined the Nationalist movement. In June 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople, and in the same year appointed Ambassador at Moscow. In October 1924 he opted for his Deputyship and returned to Turkey. Since November 1923 has been secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly.

Muhtar Bey is a man of the world. Speaks French fluently. More than average intelligence. Is credited with strong Russian sympathies.

Ali Bey.

Born about 1875, native of Afion Kara-Hissar. During the war fought in the Caucasus and Mesopotamia and against the Greeks at Aivalik. Was deported to Malta in 1920. In 1923 elected Deputy for Afion Kara-Hissar, and became one of the chief organisers of the People's party. In March 1924 became chief organiser of the party in Constantinople. In November became vice-president of the People's Republican party, which post he still holds. In March 1925, appointed president of the Angora Independence Tribunal, and later in the year shot Halid Pasha in a brawl in the Chamber, but no action was taken against him. In 1926, as president of the tribunal, took the leading part in the Committee of Union and Progress trials arising out of the plot against the President. In November became president of the National Defence Commission of the Assembly. Described by a British visitor to Angora as resembling a benevolent Scotch elder.

Ali Fethi Bey.

Born at Ochrida, Macedonia, in 1877. Graduated from military school in Constantinople in 1903, and saw service in Macedonia. Became an ardent Committee of Union and Progress adherent and took charge of Abdul Hamid on the expulsion of the latter to Salonica. 1910–13 military attaché at Sofia and 1913–17 Minister there. Was for a short time Minister of the Interior in autumn of 1918, and soon after was deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in April 1921, he proceeded at once to Anatolia and became Minister of the Interior. In July–August 1922 proceeded on a mission to Paris and London. In 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople and during two months was President of the Council of Ministers, which post he resigned on emergence of republican issue. In November became first President of the Assembly. In March 1924 was regarded as being identified with the Opposition when the question of the President's powers was under consideration. In May, chief Turkish delegate for Mosul discussions in Constantinople. Represented Turkey before the League of Nations in September and later proceeded to Brussels again in connection with the Mosul question. Became President of the Council for the second time and in November also held the Portfolio of Defence. His period of office was marked by moderation and he had the support of the Oppositionist Progressive party. In March 1925, on the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt, his Government fell because of his alleged lukewarmness in dealing with the rebels and in the same month was appointed Turkish Ambassador to Paris.

Fethi Bey speaks good French and is essentially a moderate. Has an attractive wife.

Ali Fuad Pasha.

Born in Constantinople in 1882, of Cretan origin. Graduated from the military school in 1905, and since then has followed a military career, 1908–11 military attaché at Rome. During the war fought on the Caucasus and Palestine fronts. Was one of the first Turkish generals to join the Kemalist movement, and throughout was one of Mustafa Kemal's most trusted leaders, though he was at times inclined to take an independent line. In 1920 was appointed Kemalist Ambassador at Moscow, and was chiefly instrumental in securing the signature of the Turco-Russian Treaty of March 1921. Was recalled in April 1922 owing to an incident in the Embassy in Moscow, and resumed his military command. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Angora and Vice-President of the Assembly. Later became inspector-general at Konia, but resigned his post in October 1924, by which time he had become completely associated with the Reouf–Adnan–Refet Opposition group. In November he resigned from the People's party and became secretary-general of the new Progressive party. In 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for alleged participation in the plot against Mustafa Kemal Pasha, but was acquitted. Believed to be still actively engaged in the Opposition movement. His reception by the President of the Republic in November gave rise to much speculation.

Ali Fuad Pasha has a reputation for honesty. During the war was not on good terms with the German commanders, and during the armistice period was believed to be violently anti-British.

Ali Jenani Bey.

Born in 1885 at Aintab, which he represented in the Constantinople Parliament. Was deported to Malta in 1919 on a charge of complicity in the massacres of Armenians at Aintab. On being released, he joined the Kemalist movement and has been Deputy for Aintab since 1921. In November 1924 became Minister of Commerce. In 1925 his commercial legislation showed that he was leading the ultra-Nationalist movement against Christian employees and foreign capital. In May 1926 he resigned owing to reported differences with the Minister of Finance. Is the leading business man in the Aintab area, and in business circles is considered as honest and go-ahead. Is rich and influential, but a poor speaker, and has also been described as active, resourceful and wily. His two daughters have received an American college education.

Bekir Sami Bey.

A Circassian, born in the Caucasus in 1868. His family later settled in Amassia. Educated in Constantinople and at the Law School in Paris, where he remained for twelve years. Joined the Young Turks on his return to Turkey in 1898. Was given

a Government post in Tripoli. Vali of Tripoli in 1908, of Trebizond in 1910, of Broussa in 1910, of Beirut 1910–11, and again of Trebizond 1911–12. Vali of Aleppo from 1914–16. Proceeded to Angora in April 1920, and was immediately appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Later in the year made several visits to Russia, and in February 1921 headed the Angora delegation to the Peace Conference. Visited London, Paris and Rome. Resigned on his return to Angora. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Tokat. In the following year his Opposition tendencies became pronounced, and in November he left the People's party to join the newly-formed Progressive party. In 1926 he was tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against the President of the Republic, but was acquitted. Is a colossally built man, tall and stout, with a slight impediment in his speech. Liberal and energetic, and, apart from his violent Russophobia, moderate in his opinions.

Fahreddin Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1881. Educated at the military school, where he was a class-mate of Enver Pasha. 1909 in command of troops against the Kurds near Dersim. Later became an active Committee of Union and Progress adherent, and in 1910 chief aide-de-camp to the War Office. Held various staff appointments before becoming Under-Secretary for War in 1915. In 1916 commanded the Turkish Division in Galicia, and in 1918 served on the Palestine front. Joined the Nationalist cause in January 1920. Later in the year secured the command of the XIIth Army Corps, which he retained until the final success of the Turks over the Greeks. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Smyrna and became Commander of the Vth Army Corps. In October 1924 resigned his Deputyship on opting for military duties. In November 1924, on the resignation of Ali Fuad Pasha, became one of the three military inspectors-general, and in August 1926 was promoted Divisional General of the First Class, thus holding a higher rank than any of the Opposition Pashas.

Fahreddin Pasha has been described as a rough diamond, though honest.

Fevzi Pasha, Mustafa.

Born in Constantinople in 1874. Graduated from the military college in 1898. Saw service in Macedonia. From then until 1913 held numerous staff appointments. During the war fought at Gallipoli, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and was Chief of the General Staff 1918–19. In November 1919 was sent on a mission to Anatolia by the Constantinople Government and established relations with Mustafa Kemal. Held the Portfolio of War in the Constantinople Government during February and March 1920. He was throughout in close touch with Mustafa Kemal, and on his resignation he went to Anatolia and was at once appointed Minister for National Defence. Played a large part in building up the Kemalist army and in organising transport and the production of ammunition. In 1921 he became for a time rather a back number, but later re-established his position and became Chief of Staff. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople, and since then has been annually reappointed Chief of Staff. Resigned his Deputyship in October 1924 on opting for military duties.

Fevzi Pasha had the confidence of Enver Pasha during the Great War, and is now understood to have that of Mustafa Kemal. Reputed to be a capable officer, especially in matters relating to administration. Regarded by Halidé Hanum as a good soldier, but nothing more. Has considerable influence with the army. Was in his time a pan-Turanian as well as a pan-Islamist, and on the abolition of the Caliphate was regarded as the only rival of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, of whose manner of life he is understood strongly to disapprove. Was regarded as the leader of the war party at Angora during the Mosul crises. Old-fashioned. Keeps his womenkind secluded.

Hamdi Bey, Mehmed.

Born about 1880. During the armistice was head of the Refugee Section of the Ministry of Interior in Constantinople. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Erzinjian. In 1924 was assistant Turkish delegate for the exchange of Turco-Greek populations, and in 1923 became chief delegate on the appointment of Tewfik Rushdi Bey as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Negotiated the Turco-Greek Agreement of 1925, and in June was appointed Minister at Vienna. Short and stoutish. Hamdi Bey speaks French moderately well and is intelligent and moderate.

Hamdullah Subhi Bey.

Born in Constantinople in 1881. Educated at Galata-Serai College. In 1901 entered Ministry for Foreign Affairs as a clerk. Remained there till 1908 occupying himself in writing poetry. After the Constitution continued his literary efforts and was the founder of a society of young poets which developed into the Turk Ojaghi. In 1910 appointed Professor of Turkish Literature at the Stamboul University. Was for a time in opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, but after the Balkan war was on good terms with the Unionists. Later became the leading propagandist of pan-Turanianism. Travelled in Germany during the war. In the early armistice was anti-British and pro-Italian. In April 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal at Angora. Later in the year was for a time head of the Kemalist Intelligence Service. January–April 1921 Minister of Public Instruction. In April became Vice-President of the Assembly and occupied himself chiefly with the pan-Islamic Congress then held in Angora. Was again Minister of Public Instruction during the latter half of 1921, and was one of the first of the Angora leaders to make a speech against the Sultan. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople and later president of the Turk Ojaklari to which he devoted most of his time and energy. During 1923 was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly and from March till December 1925 was again Minister of Public Instruction, resigning finally on grounds of ill-health.

Hamdullah Subhi Bey is an idealist of the pan-Turanian school, and is the moving spirit of the Turk Ojaklari. He is a keen moderniser and does not believe that the Turk is a religious person. Is not possessed of private means and his honesty is above reproach.

Hassan Bey.

Born in Trebizond in 1884. Of Laz origin. Educated in Constantinople and in Paris, where from 1909–14 he studied at the School of Political Science. During the war was head of the Economic Section of the Food Supplies Directorate and in December 1919 became Deputy for Trebizond. Joined the Kemalist movement in March 1920, and in May 1921 became Minister of Finance, holding the post till April 1922. By this time he was apparently very pro-Bolshevik in sympathy. From May till July 1922, Minister of Economics and Public Works. In November was appointed member of the Turkish delegation to the Lausanne Conference, when he acted as financial expert. September 1923 was again Minister of Economics. In March 1924, Minister of Commerce, and in March 1925 again Minister of Finance, resigning in July 1926 ostensibly on grounds of ill-health.

Hassan Bey fancies himself as an expert in matters pertaining to finance. Knows French fairly well; is a man of private means, wily and has a sense of humour.

Hassan Fehmi Bey.

Born in Gumushhané in 1877. Educated at Constantinople and from 1902 to 1910 held various posts in the Turkish Civil Service. In 1910 Governor of Kerassund and in 1912 of Gumuljina. 1913–18 Deputy for Gumushhané. Joined Mustafa Kemal in April 1919. In 1920 Vice-President of the Assembly. In April 1922 was Minister of Finance. In 1923 elected Deputy for Gumushhané. August 1923 till January 1924 again Minister of Finance, resigning because of a dispute over the Anatolian Railway question. November 1924 till March 1925 Minister of Agriculture. December 1925 became one of the Government delegates on the Board of the Ottoman Bank.

Hassan Fehmi Bey is not regarded as a strong man, and during his occupation of ministerial posts was little more than a nominee of Mustafa Kemal.

Hulussi Fuad Bey.

Born in 1885 in Constantinople. Member of the Turkish diplomatic service. Was employed at Berlin and Vienna during the war, and at Christiania in 1923, when he received an appointment in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Angora. May 1924 became "chef du cabinet" of Adnan Bey, delegate at Constantinople of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In October went to London as a member of the Turkish delegation to the Congress of the League of Nations Societies. Resigned in March 1923 for reasons unknown, though suggested that (1) he had outshone Nusret Bey, (2) he was not fully sympathetic with Angora. In May appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo.

Hulussi Fuad Bey is a son of "Deli" Fuad Pasha, and his wife, who is a pleasant woman, is an excellent linguist and is a daughter of Mahmud Muhtar Pasha. He is pleasant to deal with, accustomed to European ways, enjoys a good cigar, is very clever and believed to be fairly straight.

Husref Bey.

Born in 1884. A soldier *de carriere*, and during the war was on the staff of the Caucasian army. During the early part of the Nationalist struggle was private secretary to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. February 1921 was a member of Bekir Samy Bey's mission to Paris, London and Rome. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Urfa. May 1924 became Minister at Budapest. Later resigned his Deputyship on opting for his Legation. In August 1926 was appointed Minister at Sofia.

Hussein Jevad Bey.

Born in Constantinople in 1886. Educated at Galata Serai College and entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1898. Appointed to Vienna (1899), Athens (1901), Cettinje (1905), St. Petersburg (1907), London (1909); Minister at Cettinje (1911) and at Belgrade (1913). 1917–19 was Minister at Stockholm, 1920–22 at Berne. In 1923 was appointed by Angora to Bucharest. Transferred to Paris in November 1924, his speech on presenting his credentials in February 1925 was much criticised in the Assembly and he was recalled. In April was appointed Minister at Athens.

Hussein Jevad Bey is affable and very popular. Believed to be honest and well intentioned. Is rich and unmarried; knows French and German excellently, speaks English, plays golf and was responsible for its introduction into Montenegro.

Hussein Reouf Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1877. Educated at the Halki Naval College. Was for some years on the staff of Bucknam Pasha, and in 1910 became commander of the "Hamidieh," whose activities were famous during the Balkan war. At the outbreak of the Great War was in England supervising the building of the "Reshadieh," of which he was to have had the command. Endeavoured to prevent Turkey's entry into the war. Was for a time Chief of the Naval Staff, but spent most of the war period in Switzerland and Berlin. Was one of the Turkish signatories of the Mudros Armistice, and for a month, October 1918, was Minister of Marine. During 1919 was in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Returned to Constantinople early in 1920, and in March was arrested and deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in November 1921, he immediately proceeded to Angora, becoming Minister of Public Works, but resigned two months later, probably owing to differences with Mustafa Kemal. March 1922, became Vice-President of the Assembly, and soon showed himself to be the leader of the Moderate party. In May he showed strong anti-Bolshevik sympathies, and, his prestige rapidly growing, he was in July elected by the Assembly to be President of the Council. At this time Mustafa Kemal was understood to be very jealous of Reouf's power. In November he became Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople. Resigned the Presidency of the Council in August because of reported differences with Mustafa Kemal. On the Caliphate question arising in 1923, Reouf Bey showed increasing signs of opposition, and by October was the real leader of the Opposition. In November he resigned from the People's party and was elected vice-president of the new Progressive party which was abolished in March 1925. In the spring of 1926 he went abroad, and in June was in London in the company of Adnan Bey. In August was tried by default on charge of participation in the plot against Mustafa Kemal and was sentenced to ten years' confinement in a fortress. In the autumn it was understood that he was still engaged in Opposition activities.

Hussein Reouf Bey is the leader of the Opposition to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Speaks excellent English and also French and German. Is essentially a Moderate, and prior to his deportation to Malta was decidedly pro-British. As a result of his treatment, however, his feelings became very bitter, but this phase has now passed and he has reverted to his pro-British sympathies.

Ibrahim Tali Bey.

Doctor by profession, and served in that capacity during the Great War. Later became Turkish consul at Batum. In February 1924 it was rumoured that he would succeed Adnan Bey as representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople, but instead he went to Salonica to investigate alleged abuses on the part of the Turkish consul there. In April was appointed Minister at Warsaw. January 1926 elected Deputy for Diarbekr and returned to Angora in the following month. In May became Inspector-General of the People's party in Constantinople, and as such has very extensive powers. Is reported to have pronounced Bolshevik sympathies.

Ismet Pasha.

Born in 1880 at Smyrna, where his father was a small landed proprietor. Educated at the Military College, and from 1906–12 saw service in Thrace and the Yemen. Joined the General Staff in 1914. 1915–16, Chief of Staff of the Caucasus army. 1917–18 in Palestine, and became Under-Secretary for War in the autumn of 1918. Early showed Nationalist sympathies and joined Mustafa Kemal in March 1920, at once becoming Chief of Staff of the Nationalist forces. Assumed command of the Western army in December 1920 and was chief Turkish delegate at the Mudania Conference in October 1922. In the same month was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in November went to Lausanne as chief Turkish delegate. Signed the Treaty of Lausanne on behalf of Turkey in July 1923, and in October became Prime Minister, retaining the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs. At the same time Mustafa Kemal delegated to him the functions of president of the People's party. During 1924, owing to his ill-health, his Administration became more and more unpopular, and he resigned in November. On the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt in March 1925, he was again summoned to power by Mustafa Kemal, and has since been Prime Minister, though in August 1925 it was understood that his relations with the Ghazi had become strained owing to his opposition to the divorce of Latifé Hanum.

Ismet Pasha, in his army days, was regarded as an exceptionally capable staff officer, an indefatigable worker, and was, to a large extent, responsible for the final Nationalist success against the Greeks in 1922. At Lausanne he showed himself a stubborn but able negotiator. Is courteous, and never shows signs of being ruffled, but suffers from deafness, which, however, he probably finds convenient at times. Is the only one of the prominent early Nationalist leaders who has retained the confidence of Mustafa Kemal, and remains, as he has been for the last four years, the President's right-hand man. According to Halidé Hanum (July 1926), "he subordinates himself entirely to the Ghazi, and only wants to hang everybody."

Jafer Tayar Pasha.

Born in 1883 at Prishtina, Albania, of poor parents. Educated by the charity of an Albanian, who sent him to the military school. Saw service in Macedonia, and in 1907 became a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. Served at the Dardanelles, and in 1918 had command of the forces in Northern Caucasus. Early in the armistice he showed himself violently anti-British, and formed a military organisation at Adrianople with which, in 1920, he threatened to resist the occupation of the town by the Greek army. From then onwards was known as the hero of Adrianople, and in 1923 became Deputy for the town. In 1924 he commanded the troops in the eastern vilayets, but his enthusiasm for Mustafa Kemal began to cool, and in October he resigned his military duties to take up those of a Deputy. In December left the People's party and joined the Opposition Progressive party. In July 1926, along with Ali Fuad, Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pashas, was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against Mustafa Kemal, but was acquitted, largely, it is understood, owing to the fear of the authorities of his influence with the army.

Jafar Tayar Pasha is a strong patriot, just and honest, and, as a result of his Adrianople experiences, is violently Græcophobe.

Ismil Bey.

Born about 1885. Has followed a military career. About 1906 was "commandant de la place" at Salonica, and at that time saved Mustafa Kemal from arrest by Abdul Hamid's secret police. During the armistice, when he held the rank of staff lieutenant-colonel, was in command of the defence forces against the Greeks at Chatalja. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Rodosto. In May 1924 appointed general-secretary of the People's party, and in January 1925 became Minister of the Interior, a post which he still holds.

Jemal Bey is reserved and intelligent and speaks only a little French. Has done well since attaining Ministerial rank, and is understood to be one of the more influential members of the Cabinet.

Jevad Pasha.

Born in Constantinople in 1873. Educated at the Galata Sera. College and at the Military School. In 1893 aide de camp to the Sultan. Later sent to Germany to complete his military studies and on his return secured rapid promotion owing to his father's influence at the palace. In 1913 appointed General Officer Commanding the Dardanelles defences and was in command of the Palestine army at the time of the Turkish collapse in 1918. In November 1918 became Chief of General Staff, and in December was Minister for War. Obstructed the Allies during the early armistice, and Ismail was then one of the strongest and cleverest of the Nationalist supporters at Constantinople. From October 1919 to January 1920 was again Chief of the General Staff. In March 1920 was arrested and deported to Malta. Released October 1921, he at once proceeded to Angora and in January 1922 was given the command of the Turkish troops near the Iraq frontier. Elected Deputy in July 1923, he at first took no part in the proceedings of the Assembly, having in the meantime been appointed sanitary inspector-general in the eastern provinces. In October 1924 was in supreme command of the Turkish forces on the Iraq frontier, when the *status quo* difficulty arose. Later in the month he resigned from his military duties in order to take up his deputyship. Resigned from the latter two months later. In January 1925 was attached to the Iraq Frontier Commission in the capacity of assessor, and showed himself pedantic and unpractical. In September and December was attached to the Turkish Mosul delegation to Geneva. In April 1926 became a member of the Supreme Military Council and in August was promoted to the rank of general of the first class.

Ismet Pasha, who was French and German educated, is very Germanophile and somewhat of a doctrinaire. His good manners is well reported and is a capable administrator. He is a hard drinker but abstains before and during meals. Ismet Pasha was Mustafa Kemal Pasha's representative at the Armistice.

Jevad Abdi Bey

Born about 1880. Early in 1919 became aide de camp to Mustafa Kemal and at the same time was elected Deputy for Bolu. Has controlled the activities of the Nationalist secret agencies throughout 1920. In July 1921 went on a mission to Bulgaria with a view to organising trouble in Thrace and in December became an official Kemalist representative at Sofia. He returned to Angora early in 1922 and in the end was one of the instigators of the Turkish insurrectionist movement. Western Thrace directed against Greek rule. In 1923 was re-elected Deputy for Bolu and at the end of the year there was much talk and intrigue in regard to his proposed appointment as Turkish Minister at Sofia. In 1924 was president of the Turkish Aeroplane Association in the interest of which he showed great activity, thus furthering his contact with the President of the Republic.

Kazim Pasha

Born at Diarbekr in 1879. Educated at the Military School. 1904-08 employed at the Ministry of War. 1909-12 and again 1913-14 military attaché at Rome. 1915 Chief of Staff of the 1st Army at the Dardanelles under Liman von Sanders, who he accompanied throughout the war and finally to Palestine. In November 1918 became Director of the Military Council, showed no consent and Ally feelings during the armistice, and in June 1920 after joining in an effort to secure a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople joined Mustafa Kemal. Though at the time expressing the intimation of his sympathy with Great Britain. In October 1920 was appointed Director-General of Administration of the Kemalist Western Area and from 1921 Under-Secretary of National Defence. In 1922-23 was in command of the Turkish troops on the Chanak front. In October 1924 succeeded Ismet Pasha as Inspector of the 3rd Army. In the spring of 1925 was in charge of the troops for the suppression of the Kurdish revolt and in June resigned his post on sympathetic grounds.

Kazim Pasha was highly esteemed by Liman von Sanders as a disciplinarian, well trained and efficient officer. He is not a man of intrigue, has moderate views, and has never expressed a preference for any particular party.

Kiazim Pasha Kesaprulu

Born at Veles about 1884. Has followed a military career and was early a staunch adherent of the Committee of Union and Progress. Held various commands in the eastern vilayets, and during the war was Director-General of Administration in Albania. In July 1919 was in command of troops at Balikesser and there worked for the Nationalist cause. On the autumn raised irregular bands round Dardanelles to support Mustafa Kemal, who appointed him Governor of the Balikesser area in January 1920. In June was given command on the northern front, and after the battle of Sakaria was promoted to Pasha, becoming at the following month, January 1922, Minister of National Defence. Held this post till November 1924, when he became President of the Assembly, a post which he still holds. In August 1926 was promoted to be divisional-general of the first class.

Kiazim Pasha is fairly well known and speaks fair French. He is considered a somewhat high-brained individual, does not strike one as strong character. His personal habits are said to be Spartan and he is a teetotaler and non-smoker. During the Nationalist struggle made a fair but not a great name. He is distinct from the Ally.

Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha

Born at Nevrekop in 1878 of poor parents. Has throughout his military career held various staff appointments, during the war became chief of the staff to the XVth Army Corps in Erzerum, where in 1918 he came into contact with Mustafa Kemal, by whom he was later on appointed Inspector of the Eastern Provinces. He acted in this capacity during the Nationalist movement in 1919-20 was responsible for the organisation of the Nationalist secret societies and for the repression of the Armenians. At the same time was in touch with Bolshevik agents. Was the agent employed to negotiate a Treaty of Angora with Russia, but his relations with Moscow were somewhat strained. In September 1921 represented Turkey at the Kars Conference, which ended in the definite cession of Angora by being the preconditionary basis of the Treaty of Moscow because of this great influence in the eastern provinces. In 1922 was given full powers in the eastern provinces, in order that was not to hamper the Peace. Finally entered Angora in October 1922 and after acting for a time as spokesman for the party of Mustafa Kemal, became one of the nation's deputies. Elected Deputy for Constantinople in 1923, he resigned his mandate in October 1924. Elected as Opposition resigned from the People's party in November when he became President of the new Progressive party which was suppressed in March 1925. He continued his Opposition activities and in June 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the plot against the Ghazi, but was acquitted promptly owing to his connection with the army which at was later stultified to make him the leader of an Opposition movement. Colonel Rawlinson says: Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha is the best example of a first-class Turkish leader that I have met. Any army under him will be well commanded. Possessed of a most ready quick and bright intelligence, he is master of every branch of his profession and most conscientious in the performance of his duties. To straightforward and resolute Nationalist success is due to his competent handling of the Eastern Army. In the past has been described as Mr. Kiazim Facing both ways. There is however no doubt of his still having great influence in the Turkish army.

Mahmud Essad Bey

Born at Smyrna in 1886. Studied law in Constantinople and Switzerland, obtaining his degree in Freiburg in 1911. In 1912 established himself in Smyrna as a lawyer and remained discreetly there till 1919. In May 1920 went to Angora, and in the following month was appointed Deputy for Smyrna and still retains this seat. In May 1922 published a great attack against the Sublime Porte and the Sultan and on this became secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In July 1922 Minister of Economics, holding the post till September 1923 when he retired to Smyrna and was understood to have become an Opposition-ist. In March 1924 opposed the abolition of the Caliphate and passed, for power to the President of the Republic. In November became Minister of Justice, a portfolio which he still holds. In August-September 1926 Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs during the absence of Ismet Pasha. Bey at Geneva.

Essad Bey speaks French and German as well as Turkish and Greek. He is considered to be one of the best Turkish specialists in Constitutional Law. He

showed great energy in introducing Penal, Commercial and Civil Codes based on Western models the latter of which revolutionises Turkish family life

Mehmed Rejeb Bey.

Born about 1880 An ex-army officer In 1922 became secretary general of the People's party, and as such held considerable power In July 1923 elected Deputy for Kutahia In May 1924 became Minister of Interior and resigned from the secretaryship of the People's party In the autumn of 1924 was considered one of the leading men of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet and a likely candidate for the premiership but was not named in his post on Fethi Bey becoming Prime Minister in November In January 1925 resigned owing to his objections to the Cabinet proposal to appoint Prefects by election, and resumed his post as general secretary of the People's party In March on the return of Ismet Pasha to power became Minister for National Defence a post which he still holds

Mehmed Rejeb Bey was unknown until the later years of the Nationalist struggle, and owes his post entirely to his friendship with the President of the Republic He is decidedly intelligent-looking and is stated to have a perpetual desire to become Prime Minister According to Hamdi Hussain he is ready to serve in any capacity as a mere tool of the Ghazi

Mustafa Kemal Pasha

Born in 1880 at Salonica son of an Albanian father and Turkish mother Had an entirely Turkish upbringing and was educated at the Military school at Salonika and at the Military College at Constantinople, after which he passed out with the rank of captain in 1905 or 1906 as well as the Staff College diploma Receiving a staff appointment at Salonika he became a prominent member of Union and Progress, and was at Salonika when the Constitution was proclaimed Soon after quarrelled with the Committee of Union and Progress 1910 to 1911 served in Tripoli 1912 became military attaché at Sofia In October 1914 was given a command in the Nationalist garrisoned round Constantinople and Gallipoli Was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Fifth Army Corps and Military Governor of Adrianople in December 1914 Was then sent to command in Chief of the Fifth Army Corps in Syria and Palestine with von Falkenhayn, Liman von Sanders and Enver Pasha in May 1919 was sent to Anatolia to stem the rising tide of Nationalism and on his arrival at Samsun immediately assumed leadership of the movement On the 18th May announced his resignation from the army and devotion to the Nationalist cause, and on the 27th summoned the first Nationalist Congress at Erzerum In November summoned the second National Congress at Sivas and in December at Angora During the following months strove to dictate to the Constantinople Government and in April 1920 established an independent Government in Angora In May became President of the Grand Assembly and proceeded to organise the Nationalist army In 1921 received Russian and Afghan Ambassadors at Angora, and in November was vested with absolute authority for the prosecution of the war Early in 1922 had some difficulties with the Assembly but his control was successively prolonged for three periods, etc, with the Nationalist victory over the Greeks in August-September its assured supremacy was complete In November secured from the Assembly the abolition of the Sultanate Despite opposition and Assembly, and he dismissed as an April 1923 In the following election Kemalists Deputies for Angora In August was re-elected President of the Assembly and in October at the emergence of a Cabinet crisis had practically the Presidency Early in March 1924 abolished the Caliphate through the assembly in April was vested in the Chief of Staff Since Latterly Premier, the policy of the Government Nationalists controlled by Kemal through his nominees Though in many respects is popular with the Left Opposition Party and Progress, the drive and despotism of recent months has driven many to revolt He has made a number of visits to the provinces but has never visited Constantinople In August 1925 he was divorced his wife Latifa Hanum who he had married in 1922 and in the same month decreed the abolition of the fez

During the summer of 1926 a plot to assassinate him was discovered at Smyrna, and as a result a number of Opposition leaders were hanged

Mustafa Kemal Pasha is about 5 feet 7 inches high, with a sallow swarthy face and steel grey eyes with a cruel expression Has strong regular features and is now inclined to stoutness Possesses an impressive delivery in speech making but has little personal magnetism He is driver rather than a leader of men is jealous of superior brains and can brook opposition as the record of his wife shows From his early days he is been a excessive drinker and is still given to frequent excesses Is however possessed of an iron will and constitution In the opinion of Hilmi Hanim August 1926 is sporting and doomed to destruction within two years, and likely when the crisis comes, to show the white feather

Munir Bey, Mehmed

Born about 1875 Educated Law School at Constantinople After leaving College and Law School at Constantinople After leaving College and Law School was appointed one of the Assistant Legal Advisers to the Sublime Porte holding this post till 1910 when he became Chief Legal Adviser Was appointed by the Committee of Union and Progress Director of Post Telegraphs and Telephones in December 1920 Was also Director of Intelligence Department of Union and Progress and became legal adviser Was Turkish Delegate to Lausanne Conference and upon its conclusion was appointed Minister of Interior August 1923 when he was appointed Minister of Public Works

Munir Bey's appointment is considered to be a step in the right direction, as he is a man of considerable ability and is not a mere tool of the Ghazi

Yegen Bey, Mustafa

Entered the Foreign Office in 1920 Was appointed Secretary to the Turkish Delegation at the Lausanne Conference Was appointed Secretary to the Turkish Delegation at the Lausanne Conference In 1923 was appointed Deputy for Smyrna and in October became Minister of Education in the Angora Government In March 1924 became Minister of Justice holding the post until November 1 March 1924 was appointed Minister of Justice holding the post until November 1 March 1924 was appointed Minister of Justice holding the post until November 1 March 1924 was appointed

Yusuf Bey

Born about 1878, of south Albanian origin. Educated at the Mulkié College at Constantinople after which he followed a course of jurisprudence at the law school. In 1903 became a clerk in the Legal Adviser's Department at the Sublime Porte and rose to be one of his assistants. In 1916 became director of this department. In 1921 accompanied Tewfik Pasha's delegation to London at the capacity of legal adviser. Was in the Turkish delegation at Lausanne. Continued to share with Munir Bey the duties of legal adviser of the Angora Government until 1924 when he was appointed representative at Constantinople of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As such he has been ready to take a reasonable view of questions as limited powers allowed him, but he is known to be a Presidential nominee as Nationalist personality.

Yusuf Bey gives but little to Law and Legislation in which he is regarded as nothing of an authority. Lethargy, quiet and studious disposition and his chief hobby is to translate legal works in French. Has a clear if social functions in Paris. His scientific training is considerable.

Rahmi Bey

Born at Smyrna in 1874 of Turkish origin. Macedonian by race. Studied at the Military College of Constantinople and then school of Law and political sciences, Paris. Whilst there he joined the Young Turk movement and on his return to Turkey was elected Deputy for Smyrna in the Committee of Union and Progress Parliament. In 1913 was appointed Vali of Smyrna, a post he still occupies although in his hatred of the Greeks Mr. Rahmi has not been on friendly terms with the Nationalist Government. His attempt to better class refugees was against the Armenians and not Greeks. Certain in any part of Turkey that he gave the Master of Elibank's Secretary to Mr. Asquith's war peace overtures in 1915. In 1919 was elected Deputy for Smyrna and deported to Malta and released in 1921 proceeded to Angora and took his seat in the Assembly in 1922 and took a retaining fee from Russia. Has not been able to secure election as a Deputy there in December owing to the general opposition sentiments. Continued to be admitted with the Opposition movement and in the spring of 1926 proceeded to Russia. In Angora was not to be entirely trusted by the alleged pro-Russian sympathies of the President, for he has received a considerable enhancement in a fortress.

Rahmi Bey's extraordinary cleverness and natural intuitive Asiatic mentality he showed itself to be a man of energy. His personal wealth is such that he was able to act in almost complete independence of Constantinople. Gained large sums from profiteering at Smyrna. Most astute leader of the leading Opposition Nationalists and would be most certain to play a prominent part in the event of the overthrow of the present Government. Particularly critical of his internment at Malta. Well known to the British Naval Attaché.

Refet Pasha.

Born in 1877 at Tirnova of Albanian parentage. 1898–1908 was employed in the gendarmerie in Macedonia. Commanded the gendarmerie attached to the Army of Liberation in 1908. Went to the Staff College in 1911. Was sent to Damascus in 1912. Became famous as the hero of Erzerum in 1916, and 1918 received the command of the XXIIIrd Army Corps in Poland. At the armistice was appointed commander-in-chief of the gendarmerie and in May 1919 commander of the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas. Landed at Samsun with Mustafa Kemal and immediately became one of the latter's most important lieutenants. In September commanded the Nationalist forces at Kutahia and in March 1920 was appointed to the chief command on the Aksu front. In September was appointed Governor of the Lazistan holding the post until April 1921. After having served as Minister of National Defence from July 1921 to January 1922. When the Mudania Convention was appointed Governor of Ismid to restore order and to apply where to apply overthrew the Sultan's Government and set up the National Authority. In July 1923 went to Deputy for Constantinople, but on the signing of his appointment which he regarded as a betrayal of the Nationalist cause, he threw in his lot with the Opposition leaders over the proposed treaty of peace. Has since been closely associated with the Caliphate and Rauf Bey. He left Turkey in May 1924 and thereafter lived quietly in Constantinople in contact also with Rauf and other Opposition leaders. In October without the resignation of the Deputyship,

publicly joined forces with the Opposition and resigned from the People's party and became one of the leaders of the new Progressive party. In July 1926 was tried at Angora for participation in the plot against the life of the President of the Republic but was acquitted, supposedly because of his prestige with the army. In October he announced his stand in matters of political conduct and in November finally resigned his Deputyship.

Refet Pasha is one of the most able of the Nationalist leaders and of considerable political ability. In 1922 at Constantinople showed himself to be an extremely keen and clever politician. Though his private character is above reproach, he can hardly fail to play a prominent part in the future Opposition movement in Turkey.

Sabri Bey Mehmed

Nothing known of his early history. But during the war was secretary-general of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 was deported to Malta for his wartime activities. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Smyrna and in August became first Vice-President of the Assembly. In March 1925 became Minister for Agriculture and still holds that post, although during the Committee of Union and Progress trials in August 1926 his prospects were weakened by revelations regarding his association with the Committee of Union and Progress outrages in 1922.

Sabri Bey is not a man of great ability. He is great on talk about developing agriculture in Turkey. Visit of 1925 to Moscow gave evidence of strong pro-Russian sentiments.

Sirket Bey

A former staff officer of Wehib Pasha, the Yemen in 1912. During the war was chief of Gendarmerie at Mesopotamia. In 1920 was in military exile at Moscow. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Izmid. In March 1925 became Secretary-General of the People's party and in November was appointed to that post which is very wide and influential. Is a staunch supporter of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and is very valuable. A good fighter and reliable.

Shukri Kaya Bey

Born about 1884 at Ismir where he still owns property. Before the war was in charge of the Ministry of Justice and in 1914 as civil inspector accompanied the Turkish delegates who emigrated into the Greek deportations around Smyrna. Was then considered a protégé of Talaat Pasha. Was deported to Malta in the early armistice and on his liberation identified himself with Mustafa Kemal. Was a member of the Turkish delegation to the first Lausanne Conference. Mayor of Smyrna in 1923 when he was elected Deputy for Smyrna. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Menteshe. Negotiated the Turco-Albanian Treaty in December. In March 1924 charged with deposit of the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty and went to Paris and Berne. In the same month became president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In August became Minister of Agriculture, and in November Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned in March 1925, and was reappointed president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, a post which he still holds. Course but not unintelligent. Fairly well informed. Has probably quite as much influence over foreign policy as has the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself.

Suad Bey

Born in 1878. Studied law in Paris and in 1912 became secretary at the Sublime Porte. Was a protégé of Talaat Pasha and quickly became head of the Consular and Commercial Department. During the armistice was Director General of Administration at the Porte but resigned on the fall of Ferid Pasha. In 1923 became Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Angora and in 1924 representative at Rome. Appointed Ambassador there in April 1925.

Suad Bey is a somewhat aggressive and tiresome person to deal with.

Ferik Rashdi Bey

Born about 1885 in Macedonia of Turkish parents. In 1909 was secretary and interpreter to the Young Turk Congress at Salonika. Served as a staff officer during the Balkan war and was made prisoner by the Serbs. In 1920 was a member of the mission to Russia and, later, during the Nationalist movement, was the director of the Angora newspaper. Elected Deputy for Smyrna in July 1923, was

secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission and he considered the Lausanne Treaty. Later in the year was appointed president of the Turkish Commission for the Exchange of Populations and, having incurred criticism because of his alleged failure adequately to protect Turkish interests, resigned in September 1924 over the *etablissements* issue but subsequently withdrew his resignation and resumed negotiations for the conclusion of a Turco-Greek agreement. In March 1925 became Minister for Foreign Affairs and still holds that post. In the interval has proceeded to Europe on various missions, partly connected with the Mosul question, and signed the Angora Treaty in June 1926. During the summer his position was weakened owing to his relationship (brother-in-law) with the late Dr. Nazim, whose death sentence he endeavoured to have commuted, but this effort was apparently only temporary, and he again seemed firmly established when he met M. Chicherin at Odessa in November. In December, however, rumours of his impending resignation were current.

Tevfik Rushdi Bey is dishevelled and repulsive in appearance. He is so volatile and voluble that he appears to be supposed to have Communist leanings, but probably is a time-server, an opportunist who is at present only too content to take his instructions from Mustafa Kemal Pasha. He was also much disgusted

Yusuf Kemal Bey

Born in 1878 at Smyrna. Entered the civil service, but transferred in 1901 to the school of law, from which he graduated in 1905. Practised at Constantinople and was for a short time Deputy for Smyrna. But in 1909, after the Opposition in 1910 resigned, he set about the following (a very successful) law-changing at the very practical business of constant appeal. On the 23rd December 1910 was Under-Secretary for Justice, and in May 1911 became Procureur-Général to Anatolia (was wounded on the Nationalist side and not returned to Constantinople). Became Minister of Justice in January 1920. In 1920–21 proceeded on mission to Moscow and Tiflis and attended the Baku Congress. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs in May 1921, and throughout has remained in close touch with Moscow. Presided at Paris and London (as first delegate) the Angora Peace delegation in March 1922. Resigned on October 3rd, ostensibly on ground of ill-health. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Smyrna, and in the following month was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission who framed the Lausanne Treaty. In January 1924 became Turkish Ambassador in London but resigned in May so as to spring for his Deputyship. In November was a candidate (with Ismet Pasha) for the Presidency of the Assembly, but was defeated, and since then has taken no prominent part in politics, being understood to be out of sympathy with the President of the Republic.

Yusuf Kemal Bey is a good speaker and, notwithstanding Bolshevik sympathies, but only in so far as these do not clash with his ideals of Turkish Nationalism.

Zekai Salih Bey

Nothing is known of his early history. In 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's Peace delegation to London. In the following year Turkish economic expert at the Lausanne Conference. Elected Deputy for Adrianople July 1923; he became Minister for Agriculture in May 1924. In September was appointed Ambassador to Berlin, but was recalled early in 1925, owing to his having, on his own account, proposed to Herr Stresemann that Mosul would be willing to withdraw. In May was appointed Ambassador at Moscow, and in November 1926 was present at Odessa at the interview between M. Chicherin and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Zekai Bey is anti-British in sympathy, and while in London alienated Turkish sympathies by his lack of courtesy towards them. On the whole

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Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sir [illegible]

(No. 7)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 5, 1927.*

THE Turkish Ambassador [illegible] Angora

[illegible] gave the British Government [illegible]

with them and, observing that I knew how keenly he desired to promote Anglo-Turkish friendship, he expressed himself as well satisfied with all the indications of Turkish feeling towards us which he had derived from his conversations with the President of the Republic, the President of the Council, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

He then appealed to me to have the Turkish proposals for the settlement of the debt examined with a view to seeing whether their acceptance would not in fact be greatly in the interest of the English bondholders. He understood from conversations which he had had in Paris that the difficulties now came not from the French, who held the larger interest, but from Sir Adam Block. He fully recognised that Sir Adam Block was not, in either of the British Governments, and could not, control his actions, but he pressed that the Turkish Government had gone so far to meet the demands of the bondholders that it would be a thousand pities if agreement were not now reached. I told his Excellency that you had written to me upon the subject, and that I was having the matter examined in consultation with the Treasury, in order to ascertain the exact position, and see whether we could usefully offer any advice.

The Ambassador next asked for information about the differences which have arisen between the Anglo-Italian Governments on the subject of the Smyrna Treaty, and later passed to Mr. Churchill's visit to Rome and his conversations with Signor Mussolini. My conversations with Signor Mussolini excited a great deal of comment in Turkey, and gave rise to a crop of speculations which were increased by the language held from time to time by Signor Mussolini, in which he pressed for a reconsideration of the position of the Italian population and interests in Asia Minor. Signor Mussolini's views, as I was naturally able to tell the Turkish Government, whose good-will it was of considerable importance to us to secure in order to spend large sums of money on this project, were that they would have preferred to devote them to more profitable objects. I told the Ambassador that Mr. Churchill's journey was a holiday trip undertaken at the invitation of a friend, and was concerned with the British fleet in the Mediterranean, that Mr. Churchill had carried out no political mission, and that, although we had had discussions with the Italian Government on the subject which he mentioned, his views on Athens and Rome included a class of such a character as to cause any serious report of them to me. All that I had seen of his utterances in Rome was the interview which he had given to a pressman, which had been fully reported in the Italian papers.

The Ambassador then said that, without making any formal request, he would like to know whether we should be prepared to agree to the appointment of a Turkish consul-general at Bagdad. The Ambassador emphasised the fact that he did not contemplate a consul-general at Mosul. He recognised that for the present such an appointment might give rise to suspicion and have unfortunate political consequences. I knew, however, of considerable business interests in Bagdad; questions were constantly arising which there was no convenient machinery for treating, and he hoped that Turkey would be able to feel, in a case of the proposal were formally made, it would be acceptable. I promised him on this point to consult the Colonial Office, who would, no doubt, communicate with the Government of Iraq, and to give him a reply at a later date.

The Ambassador said that there were two or three other matters which he would like to mention to me quite unofficially and as a friendly spirit, as he had found that they created an unfortunate impression in the mind of his Government. He did not ask for any declaration on the subject at the moment; he wished merely to draw my attention to these small causes of friction. The first was that, whilst the French Government admitted Turkish subjects on an equality with the subjects of European Powers in Syria, the same treatment was not accorded to them in Egypt and in Iraq, where the British Government had influence. I said that I had no knowledge of this, but that I would by no means undertake to

disputes of the last twelve months and all estimates were necessarily being reduced by the Treasury to the lowest possible figure

The Ambassador then enquired whether, besides these material difficulties, there had not been an agreement between the French Government and ourselves upon the subject I said that that was certainly so, but it was not an agreement which was intended to bind the parties for all time, though it would of course necessitate by consulting the French Government before any change was made I did not think it necessary to speak of the reasons which had prompted this agreement at the first instance I thought it wiser merely to stress the material difficulties in the way of any change at the present time

Finally, the Ambassador said that he found an impression prevailing that our consular officers in western Persia were encouraging anti Turkish feeling amongst the Kurds I told him that there was no foundation for this suspicion, that on the contrary I exercised early low as a matter of the kind would endanger the friendly relations which had been reestablished between us by the Treaty of Mosul and that so far from desiring to foment trouble among the Turkish Kurds, I was on doctrinal grounds opposed to any Kurdish movement, for we well knew how sensitive the Turkish Government were upon this subject how prone they were to suspect us of ulterior motives and how ready to see in these agitations a result due to the good relations which we enjoyed in common I told the Ambassador that he might repeat this assurance formally to his Government as the expression of the policy of His Majesty's Government

I am, &c.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

No 8

Sir P Lorraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain — Received January 30

(No 29 Confidential
Telegraphic) *Athens January 29, 1927*

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs tells me that he has interminable petty friction with Turkey over the practical execution of treaty obligations that he would like to arrange for general improvement in Greco Turkish relations and that according to information he may receive would welcome any Greek suggestion for this purpose

Minister for Foreign Affairs is therefore seriously contemplating proposing to Turkey either

1 An agreement for limitation of naval armaments
2 A treaty of arbitration
3 A pact of mutual guarantee

He himself much prefers No 1 which he described the other day to Chancellor of the Exchequer as a naval holiday with Turkey

2 and especially 3 might be feared be looked at askance by Italian Government whose line does not wish to offend

If I were accepted Greek plan would be to proceed with admiral's programme of two cruisers destroyers and with construction of Salamis dockyard which they believe would be just as useful for peace as for war purposes and they would almost certainly rapid battleships Kilkis and Lemnos

Minister for Foreign Affairs believes that you would approve of any steps in this regard that might promote friendly relations and would appreciate a private gesture of the sort on the part of Greek Government and he wishes to learn whether His Majesty's Government would be disposed to listen

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[E 495/495/44] No 9

Sir G Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received January 31)

(No 37 Confidential)
Sir *Constantinople, January 21, 1927*

WITH reference to Sir Ronald Lindsay's despatch No 1, Confidential, of the 1st January last year, I have the honour to forward to you herewith the annual report for 1926 on the heads of missions in Turkey

2 I have been here too short a time and have seen too little of my colleagues at present visits of heads of missions to Angora undoubtedly militate against corporate intimacy to feel justified in expressing more than a first impression based on the appreciations so vividly made by my predecessor The parts of the notices repeated from the reports of previous years are enclosed in brackets and dated

3 The report is also as in preceding years divided into two parts—Constantinople and Angora at which latter place the following changes and developments, which have occurred in the course of 1926 may be recorded

4 *Germany* M Nadolny has returned from Berlin with orders for the construction of a stone Embassy building and I gather that he proposes to start this time about the work

5 *Italy* The transfer of the Embassy staff to Pera is complete and meanwhile the Italian Government has taken a small house in the town where one of the secretaries is permanently in residence

6 *Poland* Building has not yet started on the site of Chankaya but the Polish Minister has given up the house in the country and rented a house just outside the town where there is a secretary permanently in residence

7 *Russia* The Embassy building has been finished in the course of the past year and corresponds to my predecessor's description But M Skritzky possibly still more MacSwiney finds the obligation of daily meals in common with the twenty-five comrades who compose his staff somewhat trying and he intends to build a separate house for his own residence

8 *United States* have now hired a big house in the town, next door to the one they had last year

9 *Belgium* has now rented a small house in the town where under instructions as I understand from the Belgian Government the Minister and his secretary are to take turns of two months' residence

10 *Czechoslovakia* is now established in a good house in the Chankaya district about a mile below our property

11 *Egypt* is also permanently established at Angora but as at present both Minister and staff are being changed I do not know precisely where the Legation is situated

I have, &c.
GEORGE R CLERK

Enclosure in No 9

Report on Heads of Missions in Turkey

(The portions in brackets are taken from the previous reports.)

(A) CONSTANTINOPLE

Austria M Auguste Kral, fully accredited Minister

(M Kral reopened relations with Turkey in June after the interruption dictated in the peace treaties He is a member of the old Austro Hungarian consular service and during the war was Civil Commissioner in Albania He has been all his life in the Balkans and speaks Turkish and Albanian His manner is characterised by an effusive and rather elaborate courtesy, but he is intelligent, well informed, anxious to be on good terms with His Majesty's mission and perhaps even willing to be of service He is married (1924)

Belgium Baron de Villenfagne de Sorinnes, fully accredited Minister

Baron de Villenfagne de Sorinnes arrived here in the summer of 1924 (He comes from China, Japan and Siam. In person he is short, fat and round, and he loves living with the oldest ladies. His disposition is jovial and he can be amusing about Siam but he is quite stupid. 1924.) He returned from Brussels this autumn with a young wife.

Bulgaria

This mission is in charge of M. Nicolas Nedev. I have not met him.

Denmark M. Oldenburg, Minister at Berne

He is also Minister to Turkey, but has only paid one formal visit in April last, to present his letters. M. Malth Brun is in charge of local matters and purposes permanently of the Danish Legation. He was formerly in London and talks English well. He is very pro-English. His great ambition being to return to London. He is unmarried.

France M. L. Daeschner, fully accredited Ambassador

M. Daeschner presented his letters on the 29th October last. He was born in 1863 and has served in Madrid and London. In 1912 he was appointed Chef de Cabinet of M. Pichon, and went later as Minister to Lisbon and Bucharest. In October 1924 he was appointed Ambassador to Washington, but left that post after a few days, the Cabinet Crisis in effect a settlement of the Ruhr-Rhineland question.

M. Daeschner is a reserved and a little timid man, but he is a great gentleman. His wife is a great contrast. She seems to be a loyal, simple friendly Belgian with whom it will be a pleasure to be agreeable to, and with the Baron I am on the most friendly terms. He is an Ambassador of the old school.

M. Daeschner is a widower and has two grown-up daughters. Mme. Daeschner, who is a sister of the Comtesse de Kerchove de Denterghem, is a Princess Lieven by marriage, and was what is known as the reverse of popular with the Russians. She is, I think, the funniest lady I have ever seen.

Germany Herr Rudolf Nadolny, fully accredited Ambassador

Herr Nadolny, as you are aware, has left Constantinople, having been at Stockholm, and prior to that with Turkey as Minister Plenipotentiary, the relations which had been interrupted during the war, in the period immediately following the conclusion of peace between Turkey and the Allies. He has the personal rank of Ambassador in the German service. The Embassy houses at Pera and Therapia have been requisitioned, requisitioned and allocated, and a wooden transportable house of some twenty to twenty-five rooms has been erected at Angora. I have entered into relations with Herr Nadolny, and he has personally repeated to me the assurances offered locally by Berlin to London that Germany will not attempt to oppose in any way British policy in Turkey. I am aware, only in the course of these engagements, though, of course, in the commercial field, that German merchant shipping is back with Herr Nadolny's help, when required, makes great headway, and leaves the British competitor far behind. Tonnage is, except on rare occasions, the determining factor.

I do not think Herr Nadolny has any particularly good status with Turks and there is certainly no love in the relations between the two countries of that ever-increasing will to live, I expect, result from an alliance of a quarter of a century. He is a good representative at Angora and is well informed on Turkish affairs, but I think he is rather to be regarded as really intelligent. Personally he is, I suppose, quite extraordinarily agreeable, but I understand he can be arrogant enough to his colleagues from minor States. He has given offence, they *wassaid* to me, to more people, shortly, than I expected to find in any country. I think nothing becomes a Great Power artistically more than a good representative, and I think Herr Nadolny refuses to have relations with the German mission and treats the Belgian Minister, I think rather reluctantly, as well, but not as a party of Russians last night. M. Issaé Chrelashvili allowed himself to be introduced to and to shake hands with Herr Nadolny.

Herr Nadolny is rather a tragic figure who never opens his mouth without saying something sad. (1924.)

Herr Nadolny has been very friendly, but I do not feel that I quite trust him.

Hungary M. Ladislas Tahy de Tahvar et Tarkeo, fully accredited Minister

M. Tahy arrived in May 1924 and has M. Kral, who formerly in the Austro-Hungarian consular service. He therefore speaks Turkish. In spite of his name he is entirely pro-Magyar. During the war he was at Bagdad and, as the Turks were there was no neutral consul there, he had to assume charge also of British interests. I have been in good relations with him, and he strikes me as being a very frank and straightforward man, perhaps with rather a hot temper. I do not believe he is anti-British any more than any of our extremists might be expected to be so.

Mme. Tahy is an extraordinarily pleasing appearance with a family of small children. (1924.)

I know M. Tahy during his stormy period as Hungarian Minister in Prague and he is, I think, genuinely grateful to me for efforts at that time to prevent him from losing his head altogether. He has spent a great part of his career in Turkey, knows the language so thoroughly that I presume the Turkish authorities regard him and the Turkish of any of his colleagues.

Italy M. Luca Orsini Baroni, fully accredited Ambassador

(Signor Mortara was transferred to Augusta Rica, disagreeable, but I think generally speaking he is very well thought of there. He is a good fellow, very fond of sport. This last I also succeeded in the transfer of Count Monte[illegible] to Constantinople or Angora.

Signor Orsini Baroni, I think, does not like Turkey and does not like Angora, but I expect to obtain an agreeable change and is pleased with his present recognised temper. He is the father of three very handsome children, apparently seeking personal successes.

Mme. Orsini Baroni, German, with whom she is in mourning, we have visited under unfortunate circumstances. She is, I find, and likes just like a three-year-old German. 1925.

M. Orsini Baroni responds to Sir R. Lindsay's appreciation of him and I am told has a considerable following in the Corps.

Mme. Orsini Baroni has not yet reached Constantinople, after undergoing a very severe operation for appendicitis, but is still suffering considerable pain and unable to walk about.

Japan Mr. Y. Okada, fully accredited Ambassador

(Mr. Okada presented his letters as Ambassador on November. He comes from China where he has spent almost the whole of his career. I have seen very little of him so far. His much wife and speaks English charmingly. 1925.)

So far as I can understand Mr. Okada's English he gives the impression of considerable intelligence and a very great affection for Great Britain. He is a strikingly handsome Japanese to look at, being tall with regular features, but he has the disproportionately short slim legs characteristic of the Japanese. Mrs. Okada keeps up a perpetual flow of most amiable English about her house and her servants which, after half an hour or so, becomes nothing short of maddening.

Jugoslavia M. Trevor Popovitch, fully accredited Minister

M. Popovitch presented his letters on the 25th July 1926. He called on me on his arrival here, but I was out. He appears to be a good specimen of his countrymen.

Persia M. Sayyid Sadik Khan Tabatabai, fully accredited Ambassador

(Sadik Khan arrived in September and succeeded safely in presenting letters of credence as Ambassador at Angora. He is of unpleasing appearance, but possesses a certain amount of humour which would be still more appreciable if conversation did not have to be conducted through an interpreter. Unfortunately the Sayyid, though understanding French, is too diffident to speak it. He is, I think, anxious to get on friendly relations with this mission and I have seen him several times, but I have had no serious business with him. 1924.)

Chalatabai is a good-natured fellow who loses no time trying against Turk and does not abuse that to really mountainous extent. But West-end imparti ality of the point of view is not altogether without attraction. He interests me that he is losing Turkey for good and does not seem having been recalled at his own

request and that his mission is likely to left under a Chargé d'Affaires for a considerable period of time 1925.)

Tamatoiu is still here and waiting to present fresh letters of credence

Roumania M Georges Fotitchy, fully accredited Minister

(M Fotitchy the Roumanian Minister, was a colleague of mine at Nish during the war He has been absent a good deal from his post and was employed in 1922 as Roumanian delegate in the negotiations with the Soviet at Warsaw He is admired He is sweet and round with a keen sense of his own humour He conceals ruthless ruthlessness beneath a jovial exterior and his apparent *bonhomie* does not prevent him from being exceedingly caustic at the expense of others 1923)

(But M Fotitchy has appeared this winter with a tiny wife and a tiny but fully grown daughter 1924)

Sweden M Anton Servaetus Vestfully accredited Minister

(The Swedish Minister M Servaetus Vest, is the doyen of the Ministers He has spent most of his career in South America and finds this climate somewhat trying owing to the difficulty of finding suitable accommodation in Constantinople itself he lives in a flat at Buyuk Dere where he spends the whole year He is a man of literary tastes 1925)

(He was a fair shot in Capri and reads a great deal but unfortunately he has a nervous trouble 1925)

Switzerland M Gustave Odier Wadelberg fully accredited Minister

M Wadelberg received on his arrival that he was under suspicion of having been a pro-German during the war The fact that he is in charge of German interests here and Greece fell to him to get rid of this suspicion, but he was not to escape the legend that he is German plus After the conclusion of the Lausanne Exchange Agreement with the Angora Government some of the returned Greeks had not been treated as well as the Nationalist press say that they have been badly treated at Marmarizza and had suffered indignities there M Wadelberg procured a report of the Swiss Consul at Malta on the treatment of Turks This report was very favourable to the British authorities and M Wadelberg lost no time in communicating it to the Turkish Government

M Wadelberg goes to Greece early for Turkish society and Turks are always to be found in his evening parties In fact he rather bores Turks in the notion of his Allied colleagues

Mme Wadelberg is a good natured lady who pours forth an unending stream of talk in a somewhat strident voice which makes her a trying neighbour 1925)

He is quite a handsome Turk 1925)

Switzerland M Martin, Chargé d'Affaires

Presented his letters the 30th June Late commercial counsellor at London Talks English fluently and is almost painfully pro English He is very active socially and commercially his object being to prove that a separate Swiss mission in Turkey is justified He is unmarried I have only met him once as he went on leave almost immediately after my arrival

United States of America Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol

(Chief American Treaty signed but not ratified Admiral Bristol has shown signs of losing the direct thrust of the appellation of High Commissioner but it is not clear how he will wish to call himself in the increasingly embarrassing position in which he is placed through the Senate's refusal to ratify 1925)

(I think I spoke that the American Government have not organised a separate establishment for the United States High Commission I formed the impression that Admiral Bristol was not to be trusted with the whole Bristol

Admiral Bristol has his wife out with a great deal in a simple way They rent the Embassy and I am told receive rent from the Minister and other similar places at Pera 1922)

(Admiral Bristol has been here now for four years expecting most of the time to be recalled by the Government Meanwhile his successor had actually been designated and was preparing to come out here when the arrangement was countermanded at the last moment He himself, while anxious to get back to the

navy, would also like to stay here till the Turco-American Treaty is ratified. He was recently offered the command of the United States fleet in Far Eastern waters

In the little business I have had with Admiral Bristol he has proved friendly and helpful, and I doubt has being anti-British He objects to be very strongly pro-Turkish, and pushes it to the point of never allowing himself to utter a remark derogatory to the Turks This makes any reasonable discussion of current questions impossible, but, as he is not well informed it does not much matter His attitude may be due to the excessive discretion usually observed by amateur diplomatists, or to the necessity of maintaining somehow a good standing with the Turks in spite of the stormy relations between Turkey and America, which compel him to continue calling himself Inter-Commissioner In this latter object he succeeds

Admiral and Mrs Bristol do a lot of entertaining Till recently, at any rate, the Embassy was paid for from naval and not from State Department funds, and was run on a ship's basis Regular stewards to be waiting at ship's stewards buys the provisions and ship's cook prepares them, all borne on the books of the U.S.S. Scorpion The result, though slightly strange at times, is nevertheless highly gratifying to Constantinople society in general, with whom Admiral and Mrs Bristol are deservedly popular 1924)

Admiral Bristol is still awaiting ratification of the Turco-American Treaty, which will be debated in Congress in the current month If it is ratified he will probably be offered the appointment of Ambassador here, but unless he decides to leave the Embassy entirely it is not clear that the Embassy He is personally very much liked and I am not sure that it is politic to be too pro-British Perhaps it is his enlightened anti-Semitism on the present Turkish regime which makes it difficult to judge

Vatican Mgr Angelo Dolci, Apostolic Delegate

(This prelate arrived in October, his last post having been in Guatemala He is Bishop of Diocese *in partibus* I have little acquaintance with him. The Turkish Government does not recognise the existence of the Vatican, and Mgr Dolci has to disguise officials this at all 1925)

(B) Asiatic

Afghanistan Gulam Djelani, fully accredited Minister

Gulam Djelani succeeded Sultan Ahmed Khan in February last I know nothing about him

Persia Kiazim Bey Eko, fully accredited Minister

M Eko arrived in February last year and had to wait nearly a month at Angora before he could present his credentials up to the war he was in the Turkish Civil Service, his last post being Governor of Caesarea, and he was also actually interned at Angora He is probably the best informed of all members of the Diplomatic Body in regard to matters Turkish, and I was very favourably impressed when I saw him at Angora both by his personality and by his frankness I should be inclined to regard him as one of the best of my colleagues

Czechoslovakia M Milos Kobr, fully accredited Minister

M Kobr presented his letters as successor to Dr Svethis on the 1st January, 1926 He lives permanently at Angora, and called on me on my first visit there. He went on leave shortly afterwards and I have had no opportunity of getting to know him better, but my first impression of him is as being typical of the numerous ex-Austrian officials who now occupy high posts in the Czecho-slovakian public service He was in the Austro-Hungarian Levantine consular service before the war, and subsequently was for some time at Smyrna and speaks English with an American accent He is married

Egypt Mahmoud Hedaya Pasha

Suddenly at mysterious disappeared in the summer He is said to have sold some wheat he had in portofree of duty to Levantine Hotel He did not return from leave and has been retired Whether successor has yet been officially appointed or not it is rumoured that Youssuf Aziz Bey Chicurel, Egyptian Minister to Teheran, is to come here

Greece M M N Tsamados fully accredited Minister

M Argyropoulo left in September last to take over the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Athens and was succeeded early in December by M Tsamados formerly Minister at Berne (1919) Washington (1922) and Belgrade (1923) In 1925 he was Director General at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs but resigned owing to disagreement with the Government over the Graeco Serbian Treaty He has the reputation of being one of the most capable members of the Greek Diplomatic Service

I have not had the opportunity of meeting him as he was absent during my last visit to Athens but I am told that he is a strong supporter of friendly relations with Great Britain and the United States He speaks English fluently

Portugal M J Wenceslau Walsh Portuguese Minister

M Walsh came to Geneva in September 1926 from Vienna where he had been for some years Minister Plenipotentiary He is a Portuguese of British descent and is said to be a very able man

Russia M Serge Rodzianko Acting Chargé d'Affaires

(M Serge Rodzianko is a son of the President of the Duma who was for a short time in 1917 Prime Minister of Russia He is a tall handsome man of about forty years of age with a charming personality He speaks English perfectly and is a very popular member of the Diplomatic Corps in Geneva He is not a Bolshevik but is a Constitutional Democrat and is said to be in close touch with the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaievitch who lives in Paris M Rodzianko was formerly Secretary to the Russian Embassy in London and was subsequently Minister to Persia from which post he was withdrawn by the Soviet Government in 1918 He was appointed Chargé d'Affaires in Athens in 1923 and came to Geneva in September 1925

I have had a talk to Mr Rodzianko who is going out on his own to make his report to the Council as the relations between our two countries are entirely a matter of private interest to the Russian people and he is anxious to see these relations established on a better footing He is evidently all right and useful to us from the point of view of the Soviet Government as he is a strong opponent of the Bolsheviks and has been for many years

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E 500 500 44] No 10

Sir C Eliot to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received January 21)

(No 2)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 6, 1927*

As I had occasion to point out in my despatch No 8 of the 10th instant to the Marquess of Crewe the Turkish Government appointed by Turkey as possibly suitable for Geneva cannot be referred to as a Government of the Turkish people

2 Yesterday the Grand Assembly met to legalize the action of the Ministry of Justice in the trial of persons who took part in the work of the Legislative Chamber assembled at Angora in 1920 and to ratify the sentences passed by the Independence Tribunals which were then given effect to The Assembly also passed a Bill which will restrict the right of appeal to the Court of Cassation

3 Mr Brown's report of the legal proceedings has been sent to you and I do not propose to trouble you with observations on the work so far achieved In the first place he points out that the Turkish Government have taken every precaution to secure that the Counsel for the defence represent a sort of control In so far, therefore, as the Government wish to protect foreigners from the injustices of the Turkish courts, they can do very little In his opinion it is merely a question of fact to be decided, and he is hopeful that if the Legal Counsellors can prove to the Turkish Government that they are in Turkey not to support the foreigner against the Turk but to help the Government with disinterested advice, some real progress may be made in the future

4 Up to date there is little positive achievement that can be reported The Widely suggestive Questionnaire, setting out Constantinople, were drawn up by the Civil and Criminal Codes they did consult the legal counsellors, but only very late in the day, a short time for the cases were settled at the Preliminary Conference

The recommendations of the legal counsellors were to a large extent accepted by the Parliamentary Commission but few were of any importance and it is difficult to say how far the influence of the foreign counsellors was the decisive element in effecting the changes made

5 As regards complaints made by foreigners against the administration of justice Mr Brown points out that the Turkish Judges have several occasions justified their decisions of the Turkish Courts and have stated that it was the Minister of Justice The latter subsequently made enquiries and in one instance Counsel's assertion was found to be incorrect Mr Brown comments on the fact that the Turkish Judges are not allowed to retire from the Court but can only vote against the judgment of the Turkish Court the Legal counsellors attached to the Court but on vote was given in the Court of Cassation Mr Brown also points out that the case was not even struggled for and is to be treated as a test He proposes, with the leave of the Court to plead the benefit of the Turkish Legal Counsellors against the Turkish Court and to ask the Judges what to do in cases where they consider a gross miscarriage of justice has taken place but where all above appeal is exhausted

6 [illegible] only [illegible] Turkish [illegible] reference has been made to this in the Legal Counsellors Report, but it has been found [illegible]

7 [illegible] is not to be [illegible] the cases [illegible] has been [illegible] the latter [illegible] are agreeing to accept [illegible] with the [illegible] Turkish Judges [illegible] Mr Brown [illegible] Judges [illegible] the Chief [illegible] Counsellors [illegible] Minister [illegible] though the latter says that he cannot interfere directly with the decision of a Judge yet he can, after the event, remove a Judge who has been guilty of injustice or negligence This [illegible]

8 Mr Brown frankly regards the appointment of Legal Counsellors as experiment on the Ministry of Justice as a step put forward from the Turkish national point of view He points out that, while the codes [illegible] with the Turkish character they were to all intents, but from a purely judicial standpoint it was far from satisfactory In fact Turkey has been put on a par in matters of justice with the best countries in the world [illegible] the appointment of Legal Counsellors [illegible] to the League of Nations with a Court of Appeal in Constantinople where all cases would have been heard in which foreigners were involved The Court would have been composed of Turkish Judges and Legal Counsellors, and if any miscarriage of justice occurred, there would have been a final appeal to the League of Nations

9 I [illegible] such results as have already been achieved are encouraging rather than positive and [illegible] those results [illegible] the patience and tact [illegible] the technical ability of the Legal Counsellors Still, given the three attributes above [illegible] that in the future [illegible] the foreigner being able to [illegible] himself to a Turkish Court with some hope of a fair trial [illegible] we cannot yet call the Experiment encouraging

I have &c
GEORGE R CLERK

[E 501/73/44] No. 11

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received January 31*)

(No. 41)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 26, 1927*

AS was to be expected the report of the Treaty of Lausanne by the American Senate aroused considerable stir here. It is noted, however, remarkably few hostile utterances against America for her refusal to sign the treaty. In the first place the Turks realise that the American Government are in favour of revision and that the defeat which has befallen the hands of the Senate is first and foremost a victory for the group of American capitalists who, as such, mean to do business with Angora and with Turkey. Secondly, the Turks appear to be fully aware that the rejection of the treaty is not going to deter Turkey and Lausanne from their course, without having to pay a price for the support of powerful America.

2. Meanwhile, as soon as the news was reported Admiral Bristol, the United States High Commissioner at Constantinople for Angora, and the press, who is always prepared to say something sympathetic with, got busy to the best of their ability.

3. It is necessary to admit that the explanations and speculations of the Turkish press and Ismet Pasha's entourage as to the reasons of the American rejection appear to be more or less plausible. They are of interest as showing the light in which the Government and the Turkish people view the question of internal reconstruction and the relations which they desire to establish with the outside world. The Turkish press reports that this vote is not at all unexpected. It is, in great part, due to the fact that the Americans are jealous of the customs duties which, it is said, are the principal source of revenue of the Angora Government. The general opinion seems to be that the real reason is the ground that Turkey expects to American capital which Mustafa Kemal is prepared to invest in Turkey.

4. The Ismet Ministry will not, it is said, be very much disappointed, as it is convinced that the Senate's decision will not affect the attitude of the United States Government in the slightest degree. Moreover, the Turkish press hopes that this vote will have the effect of hastening the ratification of the treaty by the Senate. The opposition papers, however, are not so optimistic. They are inclined to attribute the rejection to the machinations of the Greek Patriarchate, which, they say, has been working against Turkey in America. The Government papers, on the other hand, while they do not deny that the Patriarchate has been working against Turkey, are inclined to attribute the rejection to the machinations of the Greek Patriarchate, which, they say, has been working against Turkey in America.

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[illegible] As I said [illegible] Turkey [illegible] I am determined to go on actively with [illegible] have the gathering [illegible] encourage the formation of others as well both in [illegible] Government.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 749 749 44 No. 11

North Charlotte [illegible] *Chamberlain. Received February 14.*)

(No. 69.)

[illegible] Mr. [illegible] this present [illegible] Mr. [illegible] North Charlotte [illegible] 21 January 1927 [illegible]

Enclosure 1 in No. 11

Vice-Consul Dickson to North Clerk

(No. 1.)

Sir,

Ichtiaopt, January 21, 1927.

I HAVE [illegible] the honour to [illegible] Excellency [illegible] short [illegible] that [illegible] was [illegible] Dixon [illegible] the [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Mr.

wars is due naturally to the cataclysmic history of recent years, and is, to my mind one of the most striking facts respecting the place to-day. Disregarding for the moment the factitious air of culture imparted by such modern features as bottled beer, electricity and the cinema, I should say, speaking from my own experience, that mediæval Fez, or even an Atlas village, presents a higher standard of human achievement than similar forms of life in this part of Thrace.

Prospects.

8. As regards the peasants it is difficult to say how many years they must work before they can hope to reach the lowest degree of prosperity attained by the villages in the Vezirköi district. The crops have much good this year, though the result of the attempt to [illegible] (which hope was placed and for which a railway to the bay of Adrianople was built at Alpsglou last year) was [illegible]. It seems to me almost [illegible] whether Albania, against the frontier of which the Epirus first battle-ground of the Macedonian Komitadji has gathered in some degree and secondly with the whole question of Labour at all under present conditions of land-ownership. As any traveller may [illegible] the Greek Vezirköi who married a Turkish wife with [illegible] Bulgarian [illegible] Albanian [illegible] Albanian [illegible] Alban

bondholders could be induced to continue my action to calling the attention of the Turkish Government to the subject and begging that they might arrange a fair settlement of the claims of Roswell Hall et al. even on the Turkish Government in the past. I would suggest that the Turkish Government should send a duly accredited representative to conclude an arrangement with the bondholders' representatives. I gathered that the Treasury Board and Bank the proposals which the bondholders' committee had made or were prepared to make on account and that a settlement might be possible if the Turkish representative had the necessary authority.

The Ambassador understood that the bondholders' representatives were empowered with full power to conclude an agreement on behalf of everything to be paid to bondholders. In accordance with the Ambassador's wishes I spoke to Mr. Ismet Inonu on the subject, but he was unable to say anything definite on the matter, but he would be glad to ask the bondholders to come to the same, but only for a few days at the Board of Trade's suggestion and accept the proposals as a whole and bring them to Constantinople from the bondholders without any suggestion or suggestion of the Turkish Government.

I have &c., (Signed) H. G. THOMPSON.

E 901 128 44 No. 1

Sir W. Chetham to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received February 22.*)

(No. 21.)

Sir, *Copenhagen, February 17, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to report that two Danish engineering firms, Smidth and Lerch and Kampmann, have decided to submit a joint offer to the Angora Government to carry out the new railway constructions in Turkey.

2. This work involves the building of a new railway line which is to connect Angora with Erzingan on the Black Sea coast, 500 miles further east than this town, and the development of the mining and forestry of these districts. The work is to be commenced on March 1st and several of the Danish engineers have already been sent for to Asia Minor.

3. The Danish firms are to cooperate with the Swedish firm, Nydquist and Holm in executing the contract, as has been the case between this country and the Turkish Government. The railway is to be completed within five and a half years, and the payments are to be 55 million Danish kroner. The contract is not a concession as the railway will be built by the Turkish Government and not by the foreign engineering firms.

4. In view of the low rate of the Turkish exchange the Danish press has been interested to know what sum the Turkish Government are able to give. The "Berlingske Tidende" has made enquiries in Ankara and has been informed by the Turkish Minister for Public Works, Behmi Bey, that the National Bank of Agriculture have taken all revenues from tobacco, spirits and match monopolies transferred to them for the purpose of payments to the Société Générale de Chemins de Fer Orientaux for the purpose of payments to the Société Générale de Chemins de Fer Orientaux for the purpose of payments to the Société Générale de Chemins de Fer Orientaux.

5. "Berlingske Tidende" points out that in view of the fact that the projected railway traverses mostly populated districts it will not carry ores for the benefit of some foreign concern and is consequently of more strategic than commercial importance.

I have &c.
MILNE CHETHAM

E 965 147 44 No. 17

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received February 25.*)

Constantinople,
Telegraphic, *Angora, February 24, 1927.*
YOUR Telegram No. 22.

I spoke to Minister for Foreign Affairs in the sense of your telegram. The First Ambassador and His Excellency agreed that copies of the Treaty should be sent to the Foreign Office and I said I was sure that this would be done.

E 1014/17/44 No. 18

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received February 28.*)

(No. 88.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 23, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the Turkish press has shown considerable interest in the recent message from Geneva sent by the Yugoslav Government to the effect that at the meeting of the Permanent Council of the League of Nations in December last Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish representative in China, had given Italy a verbal promise to support the Italian request for the appointment of a Chinese Customs Commissioner in China.

2. The following leading article on this subject appeared in the Nationalist Turkish newspaper "Hakimiyet Milliye" of the 22nd instant:—

"The Yugoslav Government has communicated to the Council of the League of Nations the contents of a telegram which it has received from Rome. In this telegram it is stated that Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish representative in China, has given a promise to support the request of Italy for the appointment of a Chinese Customs Commissioner. The Yugoslav Government has also communicated to the Council of the League of Nations the contents of a telegram which it has received from Rome. In this telegram it is stated that Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish representative in China, has given a promise to support the request of Italy for the appointment of a Chinese Customs Commissioner.

[illegible] Mussolini's policy [illegible] Mussolini's policy [illegible] Mussolini's policy [

[illegible] Pasha's statement [illegible] of a foregone conclusion that the Assembly will not renew the mandate of the Independence Tribunals.

2. The newspapers of Constantinople point out the sign of the times is not to be found in the attitude of the country, and [illegible] certainty is. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that martial law will remain in force in the eastern vilayets until at any rate the 21st November next, and that the Government have the power to [illegible] of renewing the latter "the maintenance of public security and duty" which would [illegible] upon the cessation of martial law enables the Government, without [illegible] the right of reference to the Assembly, to suppress by force [illegible] the Government will therefore remain with very [illegible] country.

3. While the Government may [illegible] by the feeling that the internal situation was [illegible] that the abolition of the Independence Tribunals would be a great step towards the [illegible] with Europe, an eye on Turkey's recent [illegible] every part of Europe [illegible] that of Britain Turkey is [illegible].

I have, &c.,
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 1156 257/44 No. 21

Note from Consul to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received March 10.)

No. 10.

Sir, *Constantinople, March 1, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith my despatch No. 97 of the 2nd instant to Mr. Nicholas [illegible] of the 3rd March [illegible] of the Law of the Assembly, [illegible] reframed [illegible] proposing [illegible] of the opposition [illegible].

2. The Pasha [illegible] was [illegible] speech of some length [illegible] two [illegible] were [illegible] inferred [illegible] of the Ankara Government [illegible] of Smyrna [illegible] the Greater [illegible] the [illegible] peaceful [illegible] of the country [illegible] the Government [illegible] stopped [illegible] Greece [illegible] Turkish [illegible] country and [illegible] of the Prime Minister [illegible] with the Government [illegible] of the Opposition. He [illegible] that any of the [illegible] would react [illegible] the Government [illegible] the law for the [illegible] of public security, but, [illegible] was [illegible], the [illegible] Pasha concluded with a warning [illegible] not, [illegible] that [illegible] disaster were to be [illegible] feeling [illegible] was [illegible] at the least hesitation [illegible] that [illegible] would [illegible] the future have [illegible] Assembly. It was perhaps, and step [illegible] after [illegible] was [illegible] from the Government's proposals.

I have, &c.,
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 1167 128/44 No. 22

Note from Consul to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received March 10.)

No. 102.

Sir, *Constantinople, March 5, 1927.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 140 [illegible] of February last transmitting [illegible] I have the honour to [illegible] that [illegible] duly [illegible] to Ankara [illegible] the Vali [illegible] the [illegible] Pasha [illegible] Angora [illegible] the representative [illegible] Mr. Woods [illegible] the [illegible] representative [illegible] agreed with the [illegible] Mr. Woods [illegible] the [illegible] representative

Major Pam that the Swedish and Belgian groups which have concluded agreements with the Turkish Government for railway and port construction are carrying a considerable financial risk.

2. The contracts entered into with these two groups involve a total expenditure of £T 140 million. Without entering in detail into the financial provisions of these contracts, the position as regards the contracting groups is that the Belgian group has undertaken to construct within a period of three years the Central Sivas Railway at a cost of £T 30 million, whilst the Swedish group is to construct within five and a half years the Heraclea Angora and Kelli-Malatia-Diarbakir lines together with the port of Heraclea, at an inclusive cost of £T 110 million.

3. The Belgian group is to receive payment in Government bonds in six years and the Swedish group in ten years, and the annual charge on the Turkish Treasury in this respect will be:

June	Million £T
1927-28	13·5
1928-29	18·3
1929-30	18·3
1930-31	16·8
1931-32	16·8
1932-33	16·8
1933-34	11·
1934-35	11·8
1936-37	7·8
1937-38	7·8
	140·0

the [illegible] was [illegible] to [illegible] bonds [illegible] as issued by the [illegible].

4. The [illegible] to the Ministry of Public Works [illegible] in

	£T
1924-25	17 145 888
1925-26	18 278 310
1926-27	14 279 651
1927-28 (provisional)	22 541 695

by vote [illegible] comprises all departmental expenditure [illegible] building, [illegible] administration [illegible] construction so that [illegible] annual [illegible] between [illegible] in [illegible] years is at least £T 1 500 000 less than the [illegible] credits [illegible] above. Moreover the sums [illegible] marked for railways have not always been [illegible] and the work of construction has been continually interrupted owing to [illegible] of contractors and [illegible] stage of [illegible].

5. In considering the financial aspect of these contracts [illegible] with the Belgian and Swedish groups the following [illegible] consideration:

(a) The Government will issue bonds to cover the cost of work undertaken, but the payment on maturity of these bonds will be guaranteed by the Agricultural Bank in case of the Belgian group, the Turkish Banque de Credit National will also back the bonds of the credit of these two institutions is however so intimately bound up with that of the Turkish Government itself that their guarantee adds nothing to the material security offered to the contracting groups, [illegible] resolves itself, therefore into the solidity or otherwise of the general Government to meet its new financial obligations for the next ten years.

(b) The Turkish Government [illegible] expenditure [illegible] the commencement of the current financial year as the [illegible] was impossible to present to the Assembly [illegible] budget. The new taxation [illegible] monthly [illegible] funds up to a sum not [illegible] the [illegible] of the coming year. It is [illegible] that the [illegible] of [illegible] only, but [illegible] and that [illegible] new sources of revenue [illegible] by the exercise [illegible] rigorous [illegible] [illegible] Public [illegible] contracts [illegible] programme [illegible] the [illegible] according to [illegible] needs [illegible] the Ministry of Public Works have always [illegible] considerable [illegible] of [illegible]

the Ministry of National Defence, and there can be no doubt that should the necessity for increased military expenditure arise during the next few years, the votes of non-military departments would suffer. In spite of protests in the press to the effect that the projected railways are not strategic, there can at the same time be no doubt but that their construction will considerably assist the military authorities in case of war or internal disorders. It would therefore be to the advantage of the Ministry of National Defence to give its blessing to these contracts and not to hinder construction by depriving the contractors of funds. Nevertheless, the Turkish Government will be obliged in the near future to make certain provision for foreign debt and to reach some agreement in regard to the repayment of the Anatolian Railway Administration loan. This will involve an annual financial expenditure of about £T 18 million which must be borne by existing revenues and in view of the apparent impossibility of levying new and productive sources of revenue, the question of how to satisfy foreign debt obligations and the state of political tension will always constitute a factor likely to become acute.

5. Extensive reports have been published in the Ottoman Bank in Anatolia and other parts of the country to the effect that the Government must levy a certain proportion of its revenues in those parts of the country where they are produced, and that any attempt to divert these funds for the construction of railways in the Government's interior would be resented.

With regard to the Anatolian Railway Administration loan, it appears to be generally understood that the sinking fund, which has been suspended for the past few years, will be put into force again in the near future, and that the Government will be obliged to borrow from the Ottoman Bank in order to meet the annuities. Should the Government be unable to arrange for the conversion of the present contracts, their exploitation as security for the service of the Government's resources.

6. According to statements published in the press, the Turkish Government is in negotiations with certain foreign financial groups for public works undertakings, but up to the present no definite agreements have yet been reached. An American group is said to have undertaken to expend 20 million dollars on various undertakings which the Ministry of Public Works may select and to be prepared to spend the equivalent of £T 4 million on roads while a German group has opened negotiations for the construction of railways from Kutahia to Eski-Chehir.

7. If these agreements are reached with these groups the German hinterland on the Turkish Government will be further increased and the risk of the Belgian and Swedish groups will be increased likewise. Incidentally I have yet to learn that either of the contracting groups has secured the capital necessary to finance its undertakings, although the Turkish Government may be expected to have taken every precaution to make certain of the ingenuous financiers of the Chester concession (see my despatch No. 1 of the 3rd instant) that the surplus of many millions has yet to be surmounted by the groups themselves before they can find the capital they require. The Swedish group, at the events, owners of the American coffers, it considers that in place for payment a large and powerful Country like the United States of America would form but a poor consideration as the security in both cases would, they believe, be the same revenues.

8. In view of these considerations I am of opinion that British financial interests would be at present ill advised to offer finance on the basis of long term credits on public works undertakings in this country. Apart from the question of political security it should be borne in mind that to make a loan to the Turkish Government is to offer a hostage to fortune and the financial reputation of the present Administration does not encourage the belief that the Government would not in the future misuse unscrupulously the use of such convenient lever to exert pressure in regard to other questions.

9. A British firm has already secured from the Swedish group the sole right to supply the materials needed by them in Turkey and is negotiating a contract for shipment of all materials from Sweden to this country. A good part of the profits of the undertakings are therefore likely to fall to British enterprise without the risk attached to the schemes outlined above.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 1206/173/44] No. 23.

Mr Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received March 14.*)

(No. 114.)

Sir, *Constantinople, March 8, 1927.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 78 of the 18th ultimo, I have the honour to report that on the 5th instant the National Assembly approved the Treaty of Lausanne for the liquidation of property claims. In submitting the convention for ratification Rushdi Bey emphasised the solidarity of interests which existed between Turkey and Greece as Balkan and Mediterranean Powers. There had been great practical difficulties, and Turkey had made great sacrifices, but the thought of higher interests had brought the Agreement to a happy issue. In other words, which I would not utter, Turkey had had Italy at her back. I learn that

2. A leader in the Government paper of the 8th March goes over former Soviet geographically as Soviet Russia, Mahmud Bey says Turkey and Greece are destined to agree with each other, and that they have disagreed in the past only by their parents. Now that relations between the two countries are now plainly cordial, and the two countries will be drawn together by commercial interest. Nevertheless, the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations will be a thorny question. The Angora Government would like to see the Greek Government approach the question of the exchange of populations, and the Greek Government would like to see the Angora Government approach the question of the exchange of populations.

3. The newspaper also states that Turkey professes to Greece will fail to further work and that Greece will fail to further work and that Greece will have grievances. This article emphasises the importance which the National Assembly will attach to proper protection for Turkish interests in the event of the Greek Government's failure to carry out its obligations under the Treaty of Lausanne.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.
Chargé d'Affaires.

E 1208/128/44 No. 24.

Mr Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 15.)

(No. 117.)

Sir, *Constantinople, March 9, 1927.*

THE British interests concerned with the Swedish group are now in Sir George Clerk's hands. (See his despatch No. 1 of the 5th instant.) The construction of the Angora-Eregli and Kelli-Diarbekir Railways is expected to have to commence anew as to the financial aspect of the work, as the financing is being undertaken by the Julsberg Bank of Sweden. The Swedish State Bank or other semi-official body.

2. The Danish interests will only make the necessary surveys, and will then according to present information, have only to receive and consider the tenders for the construction of the line which are to be submitted to them through the Turkish Government. My informant, the Danish Chargé d'Affaires, stated the opinion that British contractors would have a good opportunity to tender when the time comes. It was, however, difficult to gauge the risk which contractors would run in undertaking such work, as the process consists of half payments only at the time the work was in progress and the balance some years afterwards. Sixteen Danish engineers have arrived here and I understand to begin to commence the survey of the Ismid-Angora line.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.
Chargé d'Affaires.

[E 1362/257 44] No 25

Mr Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received March 21)

(No. 133.)

Sir *Constantinople March 15, 1927*

THE signature of the commercial treaty between Turkey and the Soviet Union, which I am reporting separately, has been accompanied by an outpouring of expressions of friendship for Turkey's most important neighbour. As this treaty has synchronised with the cessation of His Majesty's Government's contact with Moscow and the Italian recognition of Bessarabian part of Roumania, the Turkish journalist, who in this country is normally somewhat barren of ideas and suitable subjects of discussion, has enjoyed himself making a great deal out of very little. In the first place he has emphasised at the start of Turkey's foreign policy a sincere friendship with Russia, and he has been careful to mention the most discreet silence about the League of Nations. This silence is probably to endure for a short time, as the League of Nations has become rather a favourite subject for leader writers, who sought a change very naturally from singing the praises of the Ghazi and his great reforms and permitted themselves to wax enthusiastic about the League while it was still the plaything of the greater powers.

2. Of these countries to three a sincere welcome is accorded with the greatest cordiality: Russia, Italy and Great Britain. It is hard to believe that Russia at the present time occupies as important a place in the Turkish mind as either Italy or Great Britain, and I assume that she is purposely thrust to the foreground to impress the others. To what certain extent Russia may be regarded as friendly is a question of very considerable importance, and to what extent the assistance to Turkey may be counted on in a very probable one will be to a great extent dependent on the warmth of the friendship. Were it not for the more patent policy of the Turkish Government in the words of Ismet Pasha the growing signs of ever increasing war-clouds between Italy and Great Britain, certainly Turkey would be considerably less eager already to be necessary. I must admit to the impression that the protestations given to Russia betokens a certain need for consolation which the thinking Turk at times feels when he tries to probe the future of his country.

3. With this surface sympathy Russia pursues Turkey politically on account of opposite interests in the Near East. She seeks to kill all those rivals who would lay hands, as the others would, on the country by their popularity with the army to give a large demagogic appeal to the masses. The workers' party of the present regime, however, is more rather than political. It is easier to wing the cross of trade than to remedy the causes which take the appearance of new rivals possible. Turkey is no longer a great Power or has she got the economic resources of a great Power. The present Government has the sense to realise this fact. It is content as to its economic progress as perhaps is no other country. In a recent discussion with a foreign diplomat I gathered that the population generally had grown richer and less envious because they had begun to adapt themselves to a lower scale of living and hence considered that the reduced output of the country was not the result of any enormous outlay that came to stay. That is a wholesome frame of mind for the average citizen, but it is less wholesome so long as the Government fail to adapt themselves with equal philosophy to this pleasant truth, for if Turkey is to produce less for years to come, she has to spend less, and above all she has to spend less on her army. Until the Government are prepared to reduce their budget to what the country can properly support they will be storing up difficulties for themselves in the future. So far, I see no signs at this lesson is being brought home to them sufficiently to make them change their way of living and Ismet Pasha (see the *Times* of the 10th March), maintains that the productivity of the country is increasing. Turkey, he says, have for the present reached the limit of taxation and are trying to foster experiments to that effect. They do not bring down the cost of the exercise of sovereignty, but some of the more required work is left undone, and that is why the ways of communication, very many of them mere tracks, are still in the state of a decade or more ago. The gold basis fell, but as sufficient paper was issued to make up for this, the people are satisfied to keep paper money. The Turkish lira is still but a trifle above its nominal gold value. The reserves are subject to a very strict scrutiny by the Government, and Italy's efforts in being watched with a view that without any severity to the interests of Italy's friend, Great Britain, as being treated with greater politeness so that we may not join issue with a possible aggressor. So long as the future of Turkey continues to be in the nature of a gamble, one will probably be slow to commit itself to any departure in foreign policy while she waits to see what the future may bring her, and it goes without saying that other Powers will show equal circumspection in their dealings with her.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

E 1349/73/44 No 26

Mr Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received March 21)

(No. 134 Confidential.)

Sir *Constantinople March 16, 1927*

WITH reference to Sir George Clerk's despatch No. 1 of the 3rd January last, forwarding the Chief of the Imperial General Staff's Diary of Lausanne, I have the honour to report that the American Ambassador, after many visits to Angora, finally succeeded in obtaining an audience on the 3rd February with Turkish Government which has recently been engaged in executing [illegible] Ismet Pasha took the opportunity to express to him the hope that the Treaty of Lausanne might not be the last between the two States. He added that he was trying to secure the passing of the Straits Convention through the Turkish Parliament before the Spring Session, and that he had at last succeeded in getting the Turkish Foreign Office to agree that the Straits should be open to the warships of all nations in time of peace, but that they should be closed to warships of belligerent Powers in time of war. He added that he was hopeful that the Convention would be signed before the end of March.

2. Mr. Grew expressed the hope that the Turkish Government would not allow the Straits Convention to be signed before the Angora Government had had an opportunity of considering the Treaty of Lausanne as a whole, and that they would not sign the Straits Convention before the Treaty of Lausanne had been ratified by the Grand National Assembly.

3. Ismet Pasha replied that the Turkish Government would not sign the Straits Convention before the Treaty of Lausanne had been ratified by the Grand National Assembly.

4. Mr. Grew then asked Ismet Pasha whether the appointment of Mr. Crowe as Ambassador to Angora would be agreeable to the Turkish Government, and he was informed that Mr. Crowe would be welcomed by the Turkish Government as the successor of Sir Percy Loraine.

5. I am enclosing herewith, for your personal information, a list of the British officials employed by Admiral and Mrs. Bristol and a large scale of Turkish decorations and honours have been conferred on them by the Turkish Government in recognition of their services to the United States Government during the period of the Treaty of Lausanne.

6. At the first Conference at Lausanne, and during the difficult time which preceded the conclusion of the Treaty, Admiral Bristol rendered the Turkish Government strongly pro-Turkish. I think that he will be glad to see him, and I would suggest that it would be a graceful act if he were decorated, and would maintain that his sympathy for Turkish aspirations was the result of their leaders' deliberately created and quite false impression. Since I have been here I have personal relations with His Majesty's Ambassador and the staff of the Embassy have been entirely friendly.

7. An interesting theory has been propounded by a well-known American resident here that the establishment of the Republic and the Turkish Government was brought about by the crossing of the Greek army into Eastern Turkey. It is also stated by some that the Turkish Government has gradually moved its views upon American capital, but Admiral Bristol is known to be opposed to the construction of railways and the general development of the country being kept down to the lowest rate at which the barest Government can be carried on, on the ground that the money spent on railways would be better spent on the agricultural development of Anatolia, which, being more American than Greek, would be more in keeping with the Turkish character. Admiral Bristol considers that the Turkish Government would be well advised to encourage the immigration of Americans, who, he says, would be welcomed by the Turkish people, and would be more easily assimilated than the Greeks, Armenians or Jews, who are already here in large numbers.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

Enclosure No. 20

Extract from the Echo de Paris of 3 March 1927

L'Accord entre la Turquie et les États-Unis

Notre entretien avec M. Ahmed Emin, député de Trébizonde, et M. Vasfi Raouf, Représentant plénipotentiaire de la Turquie aux États-Unis

M. le Représentant,

J'ai l'honneur de vous demander votre opinion sur l'accord qui vient d'être conclu à Angora entre le Gouvernement de la Turquie et celui des États-Unis d'Amérique.

Le Traité de paix, qui a été signé à Lausanne le 24 juillet 1923 entre la Turquie et les Alliés, ne contient aucune disposition relative aux États-Unis d'Amérique. Ceux-ci, qui n'ont pas ratifié le Traité de Versailles, ont conclu avec l'Allemagne, le 25 août 1921, un traité particulier qui leur assure tous les droits et avantages dont jouissent les Puissances alliées et associées. Ce traité a été ratifié par le Président Harding, le 18 octobre 1921, et par le Sénat, le 21 octobre suivant. Il a été promulgué par le Président Harding, le 11 novembre 1921.

Les États-Unis d'Amérique sont donc actuellement liés avec l'Allemagne par un traité particulier, qui leur assure tous les droits et avantages dont jouissent les Puissances alliées et associées, sans qu'ils aient eux-mêmes contracté aucune des obligations qui incombent à ces Puissances.

Le Président des États-Unis d'Amérique a pensé que la conclusion d'un traité particulier avec la Turquie, analogue à celui qui a été conclu avec l'Allemagne, pourrait faciliter le règlement définitif des questions pendantes entre la Turquie et les Puissances alliées et associées. Il a donc désigné, à cet effet, comme plénipotentiaire, M. Joseph C. Grew, qui a été accrédité auprès du Gouvernement de la République turque en qualité de Ministre plénipotentiaire des États-Unis d'Amérique.

Les négociations ont été conduites à Lausanne, par les deux plénipotentiaires, du 6 février au 21 juillet 1923, date à laquelle a été signé le Traité de paix entre la Turquie et les Alliés. Elles ont été poursuivies à Angora, du 15 octobre 1926 au 6 février 1927, date à laquelle a été signé le Traité entre la Turquie et les États-Unis d'Amérique.

Le Président des États-Unis d'Amérique a désigné comme plénipotentiaire M. Joseph C. Grew, qui a été accrédité auprès du Gouvernement de la République turque en qualité de Ministre plénipotentiaire des États-Unis d'Amérique. Le Président de la République turque a désigné, comme plénipotentiaires, M. Ismet Inönü, Président du Conseil des Ministres, M. Hassan Bey, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, et M. Ahmed Emin, député de Trébizonde.

Les négociations ont été conduites à Angora, du 15 octobre 1926 au 6 février 1927, date à laquelle a été signé le Traité entre la Turquie et les

Tra te turco-américain ont été ratifiés les dispositions de ces notes n'entreront en vigueur que dans six mois à partir de l'échange des textes ratifiés des Conventions commerciales de cet été Ségou

Troisième Partie

Jusqu'au moment de l'entrée en vigueur de la Convention commerciale stipulée au paragraphe (A) et de la Traité turco-américain mentionnée au paragraphe (B), les formalités s'appliqueront aux sujets américains résidant en Turquie et aux sujets turcs résidant en Amérique, celles prévues par le Traité de Lausanne, le 6 août 1923.

Quatrième Partie

Cet accord entrera en vigueur à partir du jour où cette signature. Je serais heureux de recevoir de la part de votre Excellence confirmation que les termes ci-dessus sont acceptés.

Je vous prie, &c.
Bristol, *Admiral*.

Les Rapports commerciaux

Au sujet de la question des rapports commerciaux à engager avec la Turquie, le Gouvernement soviétique s'est déclaré prêt à conclure avec le Gouvernement des États-Unis d'Amérique un accord analogue à celui qui a été conclu récemment entre la Turquie et les États-Unis d'Amérique. Cet accord a été signé à Angora le 28 février 1927. Il a été stipulé dans cet accord que les deux parties contractantes accordent réciproquement le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée en ce qui concerne les droits de douane, les formalités douanières, les taxes intérieures, etc. Il a été également stipulé que les produits originaires de l'un des deux pays importés dans l'autre pays ne seront pas soumis à des droits de douane supérieurs à ceux qui sont perçus sur les produits similaires originaires de tout autre pays. Les dispositions de cet accord entreront en vigueur dès que les ratifications auront été échangées.

Je vous prie, &c.
Bristol, *Admiral*.

E 1360 402 44 — No. 27

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 137)

Constantinople, March 16, 1927

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 123 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to report that the Turco-Russian Commercial Treaty was signed at Angora on the 16th instant by Ali Djenani Bey, Minister of Commerce and Sheyki Bey, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Turkish Government, and by M. Sourtz, the Soviet Ambassador at Angora, M. Boguslavski, special delegate from Moscow, on behalf of the Union of Soviet Republics. The speeches exchanged on this occasion emphasised the fact that the signature of the treaty would not only be a token of friendship between the two countries, but, as Ali Djenani Bey himself suggested, that it was political, from which to go on to the conclusion of a commercial treaty possible. I enclose the French text of the speeches.

A communiqué was, however, issued to the press by Ali Djenani Bey at the close of the ceremony, copies of which were sent to the various foreign Legations. It appears that the treaty contains provisions for reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment in the matter of navigation, the use of ports, the navigation of the waters of the two countries, and treatment of their respective ports.

3. On the matter of residence, it was provided that the most-favoured-nation treatment should be accorded.

4. The basis of the customs duties to be established is equivalent ad valorem to those of imports and exports. Part of the Turkish imports into Russia they will be handled by the Vnieshtorg (50 per cent. according to press reports), and the balance by free trade. The chief Turkish products will enjoy the benefits of the Austro-Turkish tariff, and the rest will receive most-favoured-nation treatment. Seventy per cent. of Turkish exports sold to the Vnieshtorg will be paid for in cash, and the balance in cash or by the use of private sales, half will be paid in cash and half in goods.

5. The Russian commercial representative and staff will enjoy diplomatic privileges, and their offices at Angora and Constantinople will enjoy extra-territoriality, with the important reservation that they will be assigned to the Turkish Government to check political propaganda.

6. The Vnieshtorg will establish four offices apart from those at Angora and Constantinople, and it is provided that, in the event of Turkey establishing commercial missions in Russia, they shall enjoy similar treatment to that accorded to the Russian commercial missions in Turkey.

7. The present treaty is to be in force for one year, and will be renewed for a further year unless notice to the contrary is given by either party three months before the date of expiry. After the first year it will remain in force for a further period of six months.

8. Yunus Nadi Bey, who was recently dismissed from the editorship of the "Djoumhouriet" for his attacks against the Western Nations, has been appointed Turkish Ambassador at Moscow. He is expected to arrive in Moscow with the Soviet Ambassador, who left Angora for Moscow on the 17th instant.

I have, &c.
WILLIAM HOARE.

Enclosure 1 in No. 27.

Extract from the "Vakhan" of March 13, 1927.

SPEECHES BY ALI DJENANI BEY AND M. SOURTZ.

ALI DJENANI BEY a prononcé le discours suivant:

Mr. le Président,

Grâce à votre bienveillante coopération, nos travaux ont pu être menés à bien rapidement. Nous avons aujourd'hui la possibilité de signer notre accord. Les conditions de transit et de commerce établies par cet accord sont basées sur les principes les plus libéraux. Elles ont pour but de faciliter le développement des relations économiques entre nos deux pays

"Je ne terminerai pas sans n'est mer très heureux de former les vœux pour le salut et le bonheur des deux pays. Je vous prie ce chaleureusement, M. le Président, ainsi que les membres de votre délégation, pour votre collaboration précieuse.'

M. Souritch a répondu comme suit à ce discours :

"M. le Président,

"Je considère ce moment comme très favorable pour les paroles sincères que vous avez bien voulu prononcer à l'occasion de la signature du Traité de Commerce et de Navigation entre la République populaire et l'U.R.S.S. Il est nécessaire de consacrer ainsi dans un document très important et significatif les liens d'amitié existant entre les deux pays amis.

"Nos gouvernements auront à examiner également les rapports existant entre les deux pays, et ce complément sera très opportun, parce qu'il consolidera les liens d'amitié existant entre les deux républiques. Nos peuples attendent de nous cet acte qui renforcera la cohésion et la compréhension pour le bien de leurs intérêts politiques.

"Il s'agissait bien de la conclusion d'un traité de commerce. On peut considérer ce pour le développement économique des deux pays.

"Les deux parties ont cherché à obtenir pour toutes les questions qui ont fait l'objet de leurs discussions une solution équitable et mutuellement avantageuse. Notre traité est basé sur le principe de l'égalité complète des droits des deux pays. Il sera à la base de leurs relations économiques et contribuera à renforcer les liens d'amitié entre les deux peuples."

Enclosure 2 in No. 27.

Extract from the Republican of March 4, 1927.

LES BASES DE NOTRE NOUVEAU TRAITÉ COMMERCIAL AVEC LA RUSSIE.

AU sujet du Traité commercial signé entre notre premier délégué Ali Dzenan Bey nous a fait les déclarations suivantes :

"Le traité se compose de trois parties relatives au commerce, au séjour et à la navigation.

"En ce qui concerne le commerce, les deux parties contractantes s'engagent réciproquement à accorder aux ressortissants de l'autre partie le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

"Les ressortissants des deux pays seront soumis en outre à l'application aux relations entre les deux pays des règles relatives aux échanges commerciaux prévoyant un régime spécial. Les exportations et importations entre les deux pays. Les articles relatifs aux échanges commerciaux prévoient un régime spécial. Les exportations et importations entre les deux pays. Les articles importés en Russie ne doivent pas dépasser les exportations russes pour l'année.

"Une partie des importations en Russie se feront par les soins du Vnischtorg et sera traitée conformément aux lois de la République soviétique. Celle-ci s'engage à appliquer aux produits importés des prix de vente conformes au tarif douanier de la Russie.

"Les achats de marchandises russes en Turquie seront effectués d'une manière générale, conformément aux usages du commerce.

"Nos produits exportés en Russie seront exonérés de tout droit de douane et de la nation la plus favorisée.

"Le traité prévoit une entente pour la limitation de l'exportation de la nicotine et la contrebande sur les articles prohibés par les législations douanières. Selon ces bases, [illegible] vendues aux [illegible] sont tout à fait [illegible] pour [illegible] étrangers, et 30 pour cent [illegible] Russes. Nous avons [illegible] marchandises [illegible] peuple turc, [illegible] de la contrebande [illegible]

réglée en monnaie étrangère et l'autre moitié en produits russes. Certains droits aussi sont reconnus aux Vnischtorgs, c'est-à-dire aux représentants du commerce extérieur.

"Le représentant du commerce russe et deux de ses adjoints jouiront des droits reconnus aux agents politiques relevant des Ambassades. Les locaux de la représentation commerciale à Angora et à Constantinople bénéficieront en outre de l'extraterritorialité, avec la réserve qu'aucun créancier ne saurait être admis à l'application intégrale des lois turques.

"Les divisions Vnischtorgs avec ceux d'Angora et de Constantinople seront au nombre de six. Les droits reconnus aux représentants du commerce extérieur russe seront accordés à titre de réciproque aux représentants des différents pays représentés commercialement en Russie. Les clauses du traité relatives à la navigation prévoient la navigation entre les deux pays et, dans les ports un régime douanier spécial sera réservé à la navigation intérieure.

"Voilà les conditions essentielles réglant d'une manière satisfaisante les rapports entre les deux pays."

[E 1479, 1479/44] No. 28.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 28.)

(No. 148.)

Sir, *Constantinople, March 23, 1927.*

THE Turkish Government is well aware that the small size of the population of Turkey is one of her chief weaknesses. Turkish officials usually state that the population is about 14 millions. Well-informed foreign observers usually estimate it at 7 or 8 millions, but others put it as low as 4 or 5. What the true figure is is not likely to be known until the Belgian statistical expert, M. Decourt, who is now directing the census of certain towns, is over and done with his work over the whole of Turkey. Meantime the Government takes as the working hypothesis that which concerns the size of the population. A newspaper agitation recently arose on the subject of infant mortality which is well known to be heavy throughout the country. The press talked of a rate of 75 per cent. The Minister of Health at once issued a denial of such exaggeration and stated that it was probably about 30 per cent. and that in the last two or three years the excess of births over deaths had on the whole been 25 per cent. But at the same time that a battle that neither he nor any one else really knew what the truth was. A pamphlet in Turkish advocating birth control was on the same way met with immediate attention from the Government which impounded all copies obtainable and instituted penal proceedings against the author, a Turk.

2. For the present, however, the chief hope of the Government lies in attracting Moslems from other countries to settle in Turkey. Non-Moslems, of course, are not wanted. Whereas White Russian Moslem refugees have readily been given Turkish nationality, the few thousand other White Russians who remain here cannot obtain it and are, I believe, faced with the prospect of expulsion to Russia if no other country will have them at the beginning of next August. Of Moslem emigrants the authorities state that they hope to see as many as 100,000 arrive in the next twelve months: 50,000 from Russia, 15,000 from Syria, 9,000 or 10,000 from Cyprus, 9,000 from Jugoslavia, 8,000 from Bulgaria and so on. Land, houses, oxen and two years' exemption from military service are to be given. The 50,000 Russian Moslems are to be settled in Kurdish districts like Diarbekir, Kharput and Mush. Those from Syria and Cyprus are to be put along the Mediterranean coast. Such is the scheme as fathered by hope. The practical difficulties are obviously enormous, and the chief perhaps is that the expected immigrants may be unwilling to come. Even the peasants of neighbouring countries must by now know well enough that there is no place where a true believer is forced to wear a hat, and where the practice of his religion restricts from rather than enhances his social position, as Turkey. They may also have cared of the awful privations endured by the Moslem immigrants from Greece in 1924. It may therefore be in no mood to swarm the hotbed of Kurdish rebellion and the inhospitable provinces of the east, nor to dress windows on the south coast for the benefit of the Italians. Turkish consuls have probably instructions to carry on quiet propaganda that help the scheme. Shukri Kaya Bey, the ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, himself a native of the island of Kos, recently called to see the Italian Ambassador. Italian policy towards Turkey in the Dodecanese was so unfriendly that members were having I believe Italian policy to be the reverse, and concluded that the Constantinople Moslems has

prevailed on some of us fellow Turks to leave. From Mersina Mr. Chafy reports that a number of Cypriot Moslems have already arrived, having opted in accordance with specious promises made to them by the Turkish consul there and that their disillusionment on arrival in Turkey has been immense. Although administration in general is not so chaotic as it was in 1924, when the Moslems arriving from Greece were sent to abandoned villages up country to live off the flies and in compounds to reach the same fate, there are no adequate funds or organisation for the settlement of immigrants—a difficult task for even the most efficient Government—and I can but think it would be a kindness if intending immigrants in Cyprus could be given a discreet word of warning.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Governor of Cyprus.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

[E 1575/17/44] No. 29

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 158. Confidential.)
Sir, *Constantinople, March 30, 1927.*

His Majesty's Government will recall that in my despatch No. 130 of the 20th March I reported that the Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had informed the Newspaper Proprietors' Association that the Turkish Government would not be prepared to discuss with Sir George Clerk

2. At the beginning of the debate on the Address in the Grand National Assembly on the 24th March the Ghazi delivered a speech which, though couched in the most friendly terms, was of a character to cause grave disquiet to those who had been watching the course of Turkish politics during the past few months. He began by referring to the Treaty of Lausanne as the basis of the present relations between Turkey and the Powers, and then proceeded to read a statement which, I learned from the Agence Havas, he had dictated to his secretary in the morning. On the present occasion, however, after reading Mr. Hoare's letter and the enclosure, he sent for Mr. Lindow, and some of his observations were omitted. He talked for an hour and a half, and the speech was considered by the reporters present to be sober throughout.

3. His Excellency first alluded to the events of the Palestine campaign, taking occasion to bring up to date the history of the relations of General von Falkenhayn with Enver Pasha. He then proceeded to the passing reference to that "low-born leader of Macedonian Bands" Ahmed Anzavour, some of the Turkish Empire and then back to the Armenian massacres of 1915, to the effect that, though Mr. Lloyd George's policy had always been very good relations with Turkey, and although it was well known that the British nation was not at present favourably disposed towards Turkey, and the attitude of His Majesty's Government had shown that the Government and the nation were friendly, they would continue on their present course.

4. Mr. Lindow reports that his Excellency referred three times to this topic. He described Great Britain as the greatest fabric of evil in the world, the world's greatest colonial power, the state which by its financial power has been able to lead England up the garden path. The press the people and the statesmen of Great Britain were attacking relations to Great Britain which, it was clear, were intended for political purposes only, was the theme which, with a certain amount of irony in his voice, he developed in connection with the person of Halide Edib Hanum, wife of Dr. Adnan Adivar, whom he described as having worked against the Turkish Government and who, he said, was a curious type of fat Turkish country girl who had consciously sought to damage Turkey abroad. He left the impression that the warmth of his reference to England was in connection with the intention of Halide Edib Hanum to collect some conscientious objectors of the Turkish political refugees in England and elsewhere. He also hinted that he intended

to publish some correspondence which would lead His Majesty's Government to take action against these plotters. Mr. Knox had personally heard in this connection from an intimate friend of the Ghazi who is editing his Excellency's memoirs and correspondence that a good deal of the latter covering the years of the Nationalist movement would shortly be published. He gathered that the main object of publication would be to cast ridicule on the former leaders of the Opposition and that the more complimentary references to the Powers in occupation would be expunged.

5. Of current political events the Ghazi made no mention except to say, after uttering the word "Balkans," "but my Ministers do not like my talking politics." As a result he fixed his eyes on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who tried to look unconcerned behind a glass of champagne.

6. It would be quite unwise to attach any special importance to the Ghazi's utterances, but they are a clear indication that the present leadership of the Turkish Government is to cultivate friendly relations with His Majesty's Government in the approval of the director of Turkey's destinies. Exactly how far the Ghazi will go I pend. I think more on the assistance of Moscow than on anything else, as nothing short of a definite guarantee by His Majesty's Government would be regarded as adequate compensation for any cooling off in their relations with the Soviets, who have in the eastern vilayets ample scope for political blackmail.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

[E 1638/13/44] No. 30

Question asked in the House of Commons April 6, 1927.

Mr. Scurr asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Ambassador to Turkey is to reside at Constantinople or Angora; and, in the event of his residence in Constantinople, what is proposed that he should do in regard to the residence in Angora, the capital of Turkey, of the staff of the Government of that country?

Answer.

Sir *Austen Chamberlain*: The Ambassador repeatedly visits Angora for the transaction of business with the Turkish Government, but it is not possible for him at present to reside there permanently as the limited accommodation at present available is fully occupied by the members of his staff who are stationed there. It is proposed to build a house which will provide reasonable accommodation both for the Ambassador and the members of his staff, and plans are now under consideration.

[E 1672/255/44] No. 31

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 118.)
Sir, *Constantinople, April 6, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of the draft law relative to the creation by the Turkish Government of a "Conseil supérieur économique."

2. It is proposed that the Economic Council should commence its functions at the beginning of the coming financial year, and, in order to cover the expenditure which will be incurred as a result of the formation and maintenance of this new consultative body, a provision of £T 240,000 has been included in the budget estimates for 1927–28.

3. It will be observed that the Economic Council will consist of twenty-four members, elected for a period of four years, and a permanent secretary-general. These members will be nominated by the Council of Ministers and will be drawn exclusively from amongst persons of the country. The Council will sit in the capital of the executive bodies of the vilayets.

4. It remains to be seen what the Economic Council when constituted will be of any real service. On the one hand, the idea of establishing a centralised body for the examination of all matters affecting the economic welfare of the country is a good one, but the value of the council as an advisory body will

necessarily depend upon the qualifications and character of its members. If it is instrumental in putting a check on the prevailing system whereby economic, financial and commercial measures, hastily contrived and inadequately discussed, can be passed into law without any effective examination outside the Ministries immediately concerned, some useful purpose may be achieved, but it is doubtful whether any independent and effective control and criticism can be hoped for in a body whose members will probably be nominated or elected principally by reason of their formal support of the Government.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

Enclosure in No. 31.

Projet de Loi sur la Création du Conseil supérieur économique

ARTICLE 1er. Il est créé un Conseil supérieur économique rattaché à la Présidence du Conseil, lequel aura son siège à Constantinople. Il est composé de vingt-quatre membres, avec un secrétaire général et avec un, cinq ou dix membres et trois adjoints.

Art. 2. Le président du Conseil supérieur économique est le président du Conseil des Commissaires, et les vice-présidents l'un parmi les Commissaires du Gouvernement. Les membres présents pour chaque session, choisissent parmi eux, un président et un vice-président.

Art. 3. Les membres du Conseil sont les Commissaires, les Sous-Secrétaires d'Etat, les directeurs généraux ou ceux qui seront désignés à cet effet par les commissaires, prennent part aux travaux et délibérations du Conseil supérieur économique, mais sans avoir le droit de vote.

Art. 4. Les attributions et fonctions du Conseil supérieur économique sont les suivantes:

(a) Émettre des avis sur les projets de loi et de règlement intéressant la vie économique du pays, élaborés par le Gouvernement, ainsi que sur les questions économiques qui lui seront soumises par le Gouvernement.

(b) Déclarer ce qu'il pense des mesures et des arrangements d'ordre économique répondant aux besoins du pays, et lorsque cela paraît nécessaire, des lois et règlements se rapportant à ces mesures et concernant ces dernières et proposer au Gouvernement les modifications qui seront jugées nécessaires.

(c) Étudier les modes et systèmes prévoyant des dispositions économiques.

(d) Suivre les courants généraux économiques, examiner dans quelle mesure ils affectent sur la vie économique du pays et soumettre au Gouvernement les résultats de ses travaux sur ces questions.

Art. 5. Pour ces quatre premières années, douze membres du Conseil supérieur économique seront choisis par le Conseil des Commissaires, deux parmi les militaires et les onze autres parmi les spécialistes. Ces douze autres membres seront choisis par les établissements et organismes économiques intéressés au règlement qui sera élaboré par le Conseil des Commissaires.

A l'expiration de ce délai, le mode de nomination et de choix pourra, s'il y a lieu, être modifié par décision du Conseil des Commissaires. Le secrétaire général et ses adjoints sont nommés hors cadre et ne sont pas rétribués. Ils sont nommés par le Conseil des Commissaires. Les secrétaires traducteurs et autres employés nécessaires pour le service des bureaux seront choisis sur la Présidence du Conseil des Commissaires.

Art. 6. Les décisions du Conseil supérieur économique ont un caractère purement consultatif et sont prises par vote et à la majorité.

Art. 7. La durée du mandat des membres est de quatre ans.

A chacun des six premiers sortis de la liste des membres nommés par le Gouvernement, il sera ajouté un autre choisi sur la liste des intéressés, soit par élection, soit par tirage au sort. Les membres sortants sont rééligibles.

Art. 8. Les délibérations du Conseil supérieur économique portent sur l'ordre du jour et le programme établis par la Présidence du Conseil. Les questions à discuter doivent lui parvenir quinze jours avant la délibération.

Sur la demande écrite d'une personne ou d'une association ayant un intérêt légitime, la date de la délibération sera notifiée par le secrétariat général, trois mois au moins à l'avance, et tenue par le secrétaire général. La présidence du Conseil des Commissaires.

Art. 9. Le Conseil supérieur économique se réunira au moins une fois par semestre pendant quinze jours consécutifs. Il délibérera sur les questions qui lui seront soumises par le Gouvernement par l'entremise du secrétariat général, ainsi que sur celles énumérées dans l'article 4, qui proposées par les membres du Conseil et ayant été approuvées et référées au conseil par le Président du Conseil des Commissaires. Les copies des procès-verbaux relatifs aux délibérations du Conseil seront envoyées à la présidence du Conseil des Commissaires par le secrétaire général dans les trente jours qui suivent la réunion. La session du Conseil pourra être prolongée, en cas de besoin, de quinze jours encore par décision du Conseil des Commissaires.

Art. 10. Le Conseil supérieur économique entrera en contact au plus tard dans une année, sur avis écrit des postes qui lui auront été soumis par le Gouvernement.

Art. 11. Les dépenses du Conseil supérieur économique, à titre d'allocations, frais de déplacement et autres frais indispensables, ainsi que des jetons de présence pour les jours de session.

Les allocations, frais de déplacement et appointements du secrétaire général, des secrétaires traducteurs et autres employés, sont fixés par le Conseil des Commissaires et inscrits au budget de la Présidence du Conseil.

Art. 12. La fixation des Commissaires pour chaque délibération fera l'objet d'un règlement spécial qui sera soumis à la présente loi.

Art. 13. Le présent décret-loi entrera en vigueur à partir de sa publication.

Constantinople, 2nd April 1927.

E 1885/74/65 No. 32

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received April 5.*)

(No. 142.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April 20, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to report that a statement appeared in the newspaper "Vakit" of the 15th instant to the effect that the Government had decided that the Persian Government should purchase from the Skoda firm of Pilsen a number of obsolete, and in the case of the Turks, unserviceable Pola arbitrary attached as annex to Major Lawrence's Mr. Hoar's despatch No. 122 of the 5th ultimo, it would seem that the Turks are still trying to make the Persians take action against the Kurds.

2. The eastern provinces remain closed to travellers, and hardly any news is available as to the extent of success attending Turkish policy and methods of pacifying Kurdistan. In the long article on the subject on the 17th instant the "Millet" managed to say very little, but it was unable to describe the general situation as in any way reassuring than that quoted in my previous despatch. It was generally suspected to be the case, namely, that there are large areas where the Government has been unable, and perhaps has not got as far as attempting, to establish authority. Twelve hundred persons, members of the families of persons concerned in the rebellion, have, it is stated, already been sent to places further west, and 300 more are to follow. It is natural that there should be a reaction, as apparently there was, to employ so Kurdish officials in the eastern vilayets, the work of making the Kurds good citizens is urged in the press, should be undertaken by the Turkish Gendarmerie or Jandarma which have played such a large part in the demonstrations of the Turks themselves. Three months ago there was talk of an amnesty for Kurdish brigands but none has since emerged from the Assembly. Such measures are perhaps still thought premature.

3. It is to be noted that the leading article of the "Millet" quoted above applies to frontier districts in general, but concerns only the Syrian frontier in particular.

4. I have sent copies of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Egypt and to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 1885 17/44] No 33

Mr Kennard to Sir Austen Chamberlain —(Received April 25.)

(No 165)

Sir, *Belgrade, April 21, 1927*

I HAVE the honour to report that rumours have been current that General Zivkovic General Officer Commanding the Cavalry Division on whom I reported in my despatch No 58 of the 7th April is proceeding to Constantinople on some confidential mission. The origin of these rumours appears to be the fact that the general has obtained leave from the Bulgarian Legation for this journey for himself General Milosavljevic gave me to understand that General Zivkovic left the place recently and while I had some reason to think that the mission to Turkey early last year from Belgrade (the Chief of the General Staff, who was questioned on the subject, stated that there was no question of the general having any mission and that, if he was going at all, it was for one week only and for pleasure in connection with the asiatic horses. It was also suggested that Yugoslavia might wish to secure the good offices of Turkey in the event of hostilities with Italy. Turkey would probably not be disposed to show that by a demonstration on the Albanian coast.

2 My Greek colleague was much perturbed by the sudden departure of the ex-Minister of Agriculture for the presentation of the Byron centenary gold medal which I brought out last month. This act Byron has not yet been forgiven by Greek statesmen, and rumours of the new arrival were promptly followed by a request to see Nastas Petrovic. While I was not myself favourably impressed by the latter's personality I thought it useful to carefully watch my colleague's attitude towards him and I suggested to him that he should not receive the medal.

I have, &c.,

H W KENNARD

No 34

Sir G Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received April 28.)

(No 2)

Telegraphic *Angora April 27, 1927*

My despatch No 64 of 21st April

Minister for Foreign Affairs has assured that General Zivkovic has asked for appointment but says nothing of any mission and says he does not propose to receive the general.

General trend of Minister for Foreign Affairs references to Yugoslavia was distinctly cold. Turkish Government are anxious that Yugoslavia should delay in restoring Turkish property.

I infer that Hamdi Bey's visit to Angora was partly in connection with this question and partly in connection with Ghazi's historical review of rise and progress of Turkish Republic which he is to deliver on 19th May. Hikmet Bey was Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the early days and is very persona grata with the Ghazi.

(Repeated to Belgrade.)

No 35

Sir G Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received April 28.)

(No 3)

Telegraphic *Angora April 27, 1927*

MY immediate predecessor.

I have rather urged that the Minister for Foreign Affairs (illegible) to pay a visit to London to return the excellent impression created by his former visit to England.

I regret I did not send a telegram on the subject of Ghazi's visit and its possible connection with Bulgaria, but I thought it unnecessary as the Rt Hon Minister of Foreign Affairs was at the Embassy on the 19th April. I infer that Ghazi's visit to Bulgaria was entirely independent of the visit of the Agricultural Minister and was not connected with it.

[E 1992/17/44] No 36

Mr Kennard to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received May 2

(No 173)

Sir, *Belgrade, April 25, 1927*

WITH reference to my despatch No 165 of the 21st April I have the honour to report that General Zivkovic did not proceed to Constantinople as he had intended. The Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me that his journey which was merely of pleasure in connection with the Orthodox Easter holidays, has apparently caused so much alarm in the Bulgarian and other papers that the Minister of War has declined to sanction his departure and the General has therefore spent his holidays elsewhere.

2 I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Constantinople and Sofia.

I have, &c.,

H W KENNARD

E 2097 128 44 No 7

Sir G Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received May 9.)

(No 204)

SIR *Constantinople, May 3, 1927*

WITH reference to your despatch No 161 of the 25th February last in regard to the position of British shipping companies, railway and other enterprises in Turkey I have the honour to report that in so far as the matter is actually passed between the Turkish Government and Swedish and Belgian groups concerned the Annex to part of the Swedish draft agreement which was contained in my despatch No 102 of the 1st March last.

2 As regards existing debts of companies, this would by contract restoration and the question which they especially feared was the statutes which must govern such undertakings by the Turkish Government and the provisions which must be included in such statutes.

3 In so far as prospective British interests in Turkey are concerned my views have been set out with regard to special questions in section 4 of your despatch under reference and are as follows:—

(a) It would I think be useless for British firms proposing to open negotiations with the Turkish Government to obtain any specific undertaking as a preliminary to such negotiations. The Government is well pleased that definite agreements have been entered into with the Swedish and Belgian groups, and is grateful that other foreign groups are showing some disposition to invest money in the area. In these circumstances the Government would probably resent and decline to entertain any attempt to secure preliminary safeguards. In any event whatever preliminary conditions were laid down would have to be incorporated in the contract eventually drawn up and it seems therefore that it would be better for British firms to reserve their specific conditions until actual negotiations are opened.

(b) Any British group which may enter into a contract to carry out undertakings of public utility in this country should of course require specific guarantees from the Government in order to ensure that the financial conditions attaching to such undertakings are observed. The Belgian and Swedish groups were prepared to accept the bonds issued by the Turkish Government and the bonds were to be covered by the revenues derived from the specific taxes and customs duties. The only alternative guarantee would appear to be that the Agricultural Bank which is state-owned and therefore is so entirely dependent on the Government that its control is tantamount, to the financial security of the bond. The functions of the Agricultural Bank in this matter is set out in part of Article 6 of the Government's scheme for the reform of the agricultural bank as approved by the Council of Ministers on the 19th April. It might even be that at any given moment but the Government itself would be short of funds to cover the bonds as they fall due and the role of the Agricultural Bank in such a case would

be, by its association with other banks to raise the money required in order to avoid the prospect of having its bills protested. I am very doubtful however, whether His Majesty's Government could be able to secure any greater or better guarantee than that already tendered by the Belgians and the Swedes. The question of obtaining the guarantee from outside banks, such as the Ottoman Bank, may be ruled out, as I am very doubtful whether any financial establishments other than those created by the Turkish Government itself would be prepared to give such a guarantee. To ask any banks to give a guarantee for the Turkish Government over a number of years would probably be useless as such an operation is outside the province of ordinary banking business, not only in Turkey but in most other countries as well.

(c) A strong opinion was expressed as to the result of the contracts not being given to the Belgian and Swedish groups. I do not consider that it would be wise to adopt a warning should be given against the investment of British capital in Turkey. If British firms are able to undertake contracts that should the foreign groups in question fail should be refused the right to execute the contracts, I should like to know what would be the attitude of His Majesty's Government. It is doubtful whether the Turkish Government would be willing to forfeit in any measure the confidence generally that great power has shown in the financial security offered, nor in my opinion would it be expedient to insist upon the adoption of them by the Turkish Government to meet their engagements. In these circumstances, the question remains as to what safeguards British firms can take to guarantee the execution by the Government of their engagements as to the time from which the subscription of the loan is to be secured.

(a) British firms should be advised to undertake contracts under the following conditions only, and should not themselves be called upon to recover the money spent by the undertaking should have reasonable prospect of paying for itself within a reasonable time. The contract should, therefore, protect itself by the insertion of a clause to the effect that in the event of failure of the Turkish Government to meet their financial engagements the revenues from the undertaking itself should be hypothecated to the company.

(b) In the event of the Turkish Government not meeting their financial engagements the contracting group should be given a charge upon the revenues on which these financial engagements were secured.

(c) In general British firms should be warned against entering into contracts to be fulfilled over a series of a number of years, but some guarantee should be secured that in the event of war the revenues assigned as security for payment cannot be diverted to any other purpose.

(d) It should be clearly specified that foreign groups to whom the credit of the Turkish Government is already pledged can possess no prior right of payment.

4. These considerations apply, of course, to public works and other undertakings which involve no outlay of capital and the extension of credit to the Turkish Government.

5. As regards mining enterprises, the question of factories, [illegible] works &c. which can be administered by and for the profit of the company, I should not consider that any preliminary preparatory measures could be undertaken with advantage in this country.

6. The Turkish Government are [illegible] anxious to develop their railways and industry and would welcome any undertakings from which they derive not only a direct profit by the payment of royalties or indirectly by the payment of taxes, but also one which would add to the general prosperity of the country.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2099/128/44] No. 38.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received May 3*)

(No. 767)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 3, 1927*

IN paragraph 6 of my despatch No. 102 of the 5th March last, relative to the general situation in regard to railways in Turkey, reference was made to the activities of a German group which was then negotiating with the Turkish Government for the construction of a railway from Kutahia to Tavshanli.

2. According to the local press, a preliminary agreement has now been concluded between the Ministry of Public Works and Messrs. Julius Berker of Berlin, the German firm in question, relative to this line, but no details are yet available as to the financial conditions attaching to the contract. The project has, as yet, only been initialled and has been referred to Ankara for the consideration of the Council of Ministers for approval.

3. It is stated that Messrs. Sir John Jackson (Limited), Civil Engineering Contractors, of 32, Victoria Street, Westminster, have recently been in touch with the Ministry of Public Works for the construction of a railway from Adana to Dortyol. Dortyol is a port on the Syrian Sea coast-way. I have no detailed information in this connexion, but from a conversation that I had with [illegible] of this firm, who was in Constantinople last week, I gathered that [illegible] had left for Adana where they [illegible] appeared that the firm were in association with a Swedish-Belgian group, which [illegible] as offered to build and work the Dortyol-Adana railway, in consideration of a guarantee of [illegible] Dortyol-Adana [illegible] respect of the construction of the line.

4. According to the information at present available, no agreement was reached between the parties concerned, but the question is now to be referred back to the Council of Ministers for their consideration.

5. I have, &c. [illegible] with the reservation that Messrs. Sir John Jackson does not, as far as I am aware, [illegible] any group [illegible] in connexion with the Anglo-Turkish Trust Company and [illegible] this scheme will be the subject of a separate despatch.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2100/17/44] No. 39.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received May 9*)

(No. 208)

Sir, *Angora, April 27, 1927*

MY British colleague has been good enough to give me in confidence a summary of a recent conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs which to some extent supplements the information which we telegraphed in No. 2 of Today, relative to the rumoured mission of General Zaykowski to Angora.

2. Tewfik Rushan said in a little more detail to M. Orsini-Rosenberg as to the object of any mission or of any request for one beyond a statement of the Turkish claim for the restoration of Turkish properties which the Jugoslav Government was showing little desire to effect. His Excellency added that Turkey had no intention of giving any support to Jugoslavia in her dispute with Italy, and disclosed that his information was that that country was drawing towards Bulgaria rather than Turkey. In fact so far as his Excellency was made aware of it, his overtures was inspired by Bulgaria more than anything. Bulgaria was working on the one hand for the withdrawal of Allied influence and control and on the other for a rapprochement with the Jugoslavs. If she succeeded in the latter Belgrade position would be changed to Turkey's detriment and the Turkish Government could not be expected to be indifferent to the Thracian Frontier Convention of the Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey would have to discuss measures as might be necessary such as fortifying Adrianople to the extent necessary for her own defence. I gather that my Italian colleague must have spoken to suggest to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the question itself provides for any complaint that a belligerent Power may have to make being brought before the Council of the League of Nations.

3. *April 28.* The "Republique" of yesterday which reached me here today publishes a telegram nominally from Paris, of the 26th April stating that the

Bulgarian Minister there. M. Tcholoff maintains that a Serbo-Bulgarian *entente* is the first condition of that Balkan solidarity which must be effected if M. Mussolini's designs on Balkan independence are to be arrested.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2205/495/44 No. 40.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received May 10.*)

(No. 221.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 11, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that M. Pavet de Courteille has presented his Letters of Credence as Ambassador to the Turkish Republic, and has taken up his residence at Angora as Ambassador of France to Turkey.

2. As reported in Mr. Hoare's despatch No. 161 of the 16th March, the long delay in appointing a Minister had been regarded by Turkish circles as a deliberate mark of unfriendliness. In this connexion I was fully apprised of the usual standard of courtesy and attentions, so far as I was aware, were extended to the outgoing and incoming Ambassadors, and I reported accordingly to His Majesty's Minister at Sofia.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2392/495/44 No. 4.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(*Received May 20.*)

(No. 248.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 20, 1927.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 231 of the 12th instant, I have the honour to report that Admiral and Mrs. Bristol left Constantinople yesterday, and I was present to see off Admiral Bristol in a very large assembly representing all circles of national life. It was, indeed, as it is customary to describe it, a "spontaneous and cordial gathering."

2. The Admiral has been prominent among the Constantinople foreign community for many years and has carried on his work with a remarkable combination of firmness and tact. The foreign representatives here are they have come and gone, but he has cultivated intimate relations with native circles.

3. During the course of Admiral Bristol's relations with the British and Italian Embassies, more especially the two latter, were to profit by the counsel of these. The first is shown in the correspondence ending with Sir H. Rumbold's despatch No. 553 of the 12th June, 1922. It shows Admiral Bristol as extremely astute there at that time in the maintenance of American interests which he believed to be jeopardized by the cession of the three Allies.

4. I have said the Admiral has been true to this aspect of his character throughout his stay in Turkey. In his dealings with the Turkish Government he has secured concessions so far as one can judge more than any and to that end has borne and allowed other considerations, as by the exchange of notes, reported in Mr. Hoare's despatch No. 134 of the 10th March last, to be achieved the substance of his mission and Turco-American relations were at last put on a regular footing. This stubborn stageyness of parsimony combined with apparently genuine liking for the Turks and for the Ghazi personally has led him to overlook much. American missionary, educational and commercial interests were victims of the acute xenophobia, which only passed recently, to a great degree than those of any other great Power. So far as I am aware, Admiral Bristol never once took up the attitude that the Turkish government should feel itself under an obligation to American institutions or American property merely because they appeared. Rebuke, if any, was indirect. Instances of this kind have repeatedly been brought to my notice, the weight of which I fully share.

5. It has been said that Admiral Bristol's attitude has greatly encouraged Turkish intransigence in the Treaty of Lausanne conference, the upshot of which was a treaty, as Turks see it, entirely to their own advantage. I do not myself share this view, believing that he was the representative of a friendly and helpful Power. I feel that I am not saying enough to explain adequately what I mean, but I feel that I am actually writing here a rule

aggressively pro-Turkish may lead him, in not altogether dissimilar circumstances in China, to be conveniently pro-Chinese. He has probably a tendency to believe that the underdog is bound to be right or alternatively that the top dog is sure to be wrong. The danger of his being a thorn in the flesh in China will be reduced if this very human outlook on life is not forgotten by those who have occasion to discuss Chinese affairs with him.

6. Admiral Bristol has issued a farewell message to the local press, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy.* This message has undoubtedly gone straight to the heart of Turkish journalists, one of whom describes him as "the solitary pearl in a necklace of diplomatic thorns."

7. I would only add that during the few months I have been here my personal relations, and those of my staff, with both Admiral and Mrs. Bristol have been exceptionally cordial. My final impression of the Admiral is that he likes us as individuals, but disapproves of us as a political institution.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

J 1536/8/16 No. 42.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received June 7.*)

(No. 267.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 1, 1927.*

I HAVE [illegible] despatches of the 12th of March last [illegible] Treaty of Commerce [illegible] Turkish Republic [illegible] Soviet Union [illegible] Treaty [illegible] Treaty [illegible] Treaty

3 Articles 10 to 16 deal with the Soviet trade delegation Its duties are defined as trade (article 10) The delegation's assistants and the offices at Angora and Constantinople receive diplomatic immunity (articles 11 and 12) The trade activities of the delegation are made subject to Turkish law and Soviet Government property to sequester except such as is used in the exercise of sovereign rights or of political or consular duty (article 15) The places where the trade delegation may have branches are Constantinople Smyrna Trebizond Mersina Erzerum Konia and Eskishehr (article 13) Soviet vessels have similar rights in Russian (article 16)

4 Articles 17 to 31 deal with contraband shipping Against the underlying principles are to be found the most favoured nation and national treatments A classified list of goods to Turkish goods the free transit via Batum which has already been granted by the treaty Kars Rights Aegean of Russian vessels which have also a Soviet possessions are reserved (articles 23 and index) The contraband is specified Turkish exports to Russia restricted (article 27

I have &c
GEORGE ROBERTS

Enclosure in No. 45

Translation

Treaty of Friendship and Navigation between Turkey and the Russian

Title I.—Status

Article 1

Les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes auront le droit de circuler librement sur le territoire de l'autre partie et d'y séjourner à la condition de se conformer aux lois et règlements en vigueur dans ce pays Ils jouiront à cet égard du traitement accordé aux ressortissants de la nation la plus favorisée

Article 2

Les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes auront le droit de pénétrer à tout moment sur le territoire de l'autre partie et de s'y rendre dans tous les ports et localités qui leur seront ouverts au commerce international Ils auront le droit de résider et de voyager dans ces pays d'importation et d'exportation d'importer et d'exporter les objets destinés à leur usage personnel ou à celui de leur famille Ces objets ne pourront être saisis ni faire l'objet d'aucune autre mesure restrictive Toutefois les ressortissants des deux parties contractantes ne seront pas soumis sur le territoire de l'autre partie à des conditions moins favorables que celles qui sont ou seront appliquées aux ressortissants de la nation la plus favorisée

Article 3

Les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes séjournant sur le territoire de l'autre partie sont soumis aux lois et règlements du pays où ils se trouvent

Les ressortissants susvisés auront le droit de faire valoir leurs droits, par eux-mêmes ou par des avocats, devant les tribunaux en matière de protection des actes de propriété ils pourront posséder les biens meubles qui leur seront reconnus ou qui leur auront été reconnus par suite d'un jugement ils pourront en disposer librement

Cependant, par dérogation aux dispositions contenues en matière de la règle générale, les biens immeubles ne pourront être acquis par les ressortissants de l'une des parties sur le territoire de l'autre que dans les conditions prévues par la législation en vigueur dans ce pays, étant entendu que cette disposition ne portera pas atteinte aux droits acquis

Les questions relatives au droit successoral et à la tutelle ainsi que les affaires d'héritage concernant les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes décédés sur le territoire de l'autre partie seront réglées conformément aux dispositions de la convention spéciale conclue à ce sujet entre les deux parties contractantes dans un délai d'une année à partir de la mise en vigueur du présent traité

Article 4

Les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes seront soumis sur le territoire de l'autre partie aux impôts et taxes, ordinaires ou extraordinaires, sous quelque dénomination que ce soit, qui sont ou seront perçus au profit de l'État, des collectivités locales ou des institutions publiques, dans les mêmes conditions que les ressortissants du pays

Ils seront exonérés de tous impôts, taxes et contributions, ordinaires ou extraordinaires, autres que ceux qui sont ou seront perçus dans les mêmes conditions sur les ressortissants du pays

Les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes seront exempts sur le territoire de l'autre partie de toutes charges militaires et assimilées telles que contributions de guerre, réquisitions et prestations en nature

En cas de catastrophe provoquée par des événements graves les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes ne pourront être astreints sur le territoire de l'autre partie à d'autres contributions que celles qui seront imposées à cet effet

Les dispositions du présent article ne portent pas atteinte aux droits des ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes de bénéficier, sur le territoire de l'autre partie, des dispositions plus favorables qui pourraient être prévues par la législation en vigueur dans ce pays ou par des traités ou conventions auxquels ce pays est ou sera partie

Article 5

Chacune des deux parties contractantes assure aux ressortissants de l'autre partie, ainsi qu'à leurs biens, la protection et la sécurité conformément aux lois du pays Les ressortissants susvisés jouissent à cet égard du traitement accordé aux ressortissants du pays

Les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes auront libre accès auprès des tribunaux de l'autre partie, pour faire valoir leurs droits et intérêts, dans les mêmes conditions que les ressortissants du pays

Ils auront également le droit de se faire représenter auprès des tribunaux par des avocats, agréés par le barreau du pays, choisis parmi les ressortissants de l'une ou de l'autre des parties contractantes

Article 6

Les ressortissants de chacune des deux parties contractantes seront reçus, conformément aux lois du pays où ils se trouvent, sur le territoire de l'autre partie contractante, dans les hôpitaux publics et autres établissements de bienfaisance, ainsi que dans les cimetières publics

Les ressortissants susvisés auront le droit de faire construire et entretenir à leurs frais des établissements de bienfaisance, des hôpitaux, des cimetières et des lieux de culte, dans les conditions prévues par la législation en vigueur dans le pays

Les dispositions du présent article ne portent pas atteinte aux droits acquis et aux dispositions plus favorables qui pourraient être prévues par la législation en vigueur dans ce pays ou par des traités ou conventions auxquels ce pays est ou sera partie

Article 7

Les deux pays contractants s'engagent à ne pas établir entre les taxes [illegible] ressortissants de l'une des parties contractantes sur le territoire de l'autre partie et les taxes [illegible] ressortissants du pays ou celles qui sont perçues au profit de tout autre pays

De même, les deux pays contractants s'engagent à exécuter, dans les conditions ci-dessous, les décisions des arbitres désignés conformément aux contrats susmentionnés.

1. La mise à exécution des décisions des arbitres ne doit pas être contraire à une décision précédente formulée par les institutions juridiques de l'une des deux parties contractantes.

2. Les décisions ne doivent pas contenir des dispositions contraires aux lois du pays dans lequel elles doivent être exécutées.

Article 8.

Toutes sortes de personnalités morales qui seront établies conformément aux lois en vigueur sur le territoire de l'une des deux parties contractantes et qui se trouvent constituées dans le but de se livrer au commerce et à l'industrie ou dans d'autres buts économiques seront, sur le territoire de l'autre partie contractante, reconnues comme personnalités morales et en particulier, auront le droit d'ester en justice en qualité de demandeur et de défendeur.

Il demeure entendu que les susdites clauses ne se rapportent pas au fait du savoir si une personnalité morale constituée sur le territoire de l'une des deux parties contractantes pourra ou non effectuer ses opérations sur le territoire de l'autre partie, ce fait demeurant toujours soumis aux dispositions en vigueur à cet effet sur ce dernier territoire.

En tous cas, il est entendu que la reconnaissance sur le territoire de l'une des deux parties contractantes de la personnalité morale ressortissant de l'autre partie pour l'établissement de ses opérations sur ce territoire et pour tous autres détails y susdits pourra être soumise à des conditions moins favorables que celles auxquelles se trouveront soumises les personnalités morales ressortissant de la nation la plus favorisée.

Article 9.

Les ressortissants de l'une des deux parties contractantes admis sur le territoire de l'autre, ainsi que les sociétés qui auront reçu leurs personnalités, leurs biens, leur activité, ne seront soumis à des contributions et à des taxes plus élevées que celles auxquelles se trouvent ou se trouveront soumis sous des conditions identiques, les ressortissants ou pays tiers et les ressortissants de la nation la plus favorisée.

Les personnalités morales gouvernementales ou privées, constituées sur le territoire de l'une des deux parties contractantes et admises à s'acquitter de leur profession sur le territoire de l'autre partie ne seront point traitées en ce qui concerne leurs biens ou leur activité qui dans toutes autres circonstances astreintes à des contributions ou à des taxes autres ou plus élevées que celles auxquelles se trouvent ou se trouveront soumis sous des conditions analogues les personnalités morales analogues ressortissants de la nation la plus favorisée.

Les contributions énoncées comprennent aussi bien les taxes que les droits perçus au profit des municipalités et des corporations.

Titre II. — *Commerce et Navigation.*

Article 10.

Le monopole du commerce extérieur de l'U.R.S.S. appartenant à l'État, le Gouvernement turc accorde à la représentation et aux organisations commerciales de l'U.R.S.S. sur le territoire de la Turquie le pouvoir de s'acquitter des fonctions ci-après :

a) Veiller sur les intérêts de l'U.R.S.S. en matière de commerce extérieur.

b) Organiser directement avec maisons ou préposé traite le commerce extérieur et conclure des accords entre la Turquie et l'U.R.S.S.

c) Réaliser le commerce extérieur de l'U.R.S.S. et travailler en vue du développement des relations commerciales entre la Turquie et l'U.R.S.S.

Article 11.

La représentation commerciale en Turquie de l'U.R.S.S., dont le siège est à Angora, forme partie intégrante de l'Ambassade en Turquie de l'U.R.S.S. Le

représentant commercial et ses deux adjoints sont compris parmi le haut personnel de l'Ambassade et bénéficient de l'immunité personnelle ainsi que des autres pouvoirs et privilèges accordés aux délégations diplomatiques.

Article 12.

La bâtisse située à Angora de la représentation commerciale de l'U.R.S.S. ainsi que la bâtisse de la filiale sise à Constantinople, Grande Rue de Péra, No 464 Soviet Han, bénéficieront du privilège d'exterritorialité. Ledit privilège d'exterritorialité n'empêchera pas l'application des dispositions de l'article 13.

Article 13.

Les formalités judiciaires de la représentation commerciale à exemples en Turquie ainsi que leurs conséquences économiques seront soumises aux lois turques et seront comprises dans la juridiction turque.

Les biens se trouvant en Turquie du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. seront passibles de saisie, à l'exception de ceux représentant des objets reconnus aux termes du droit international comme servant à l'exercice du droit souverain de l'État, ainsi que ceux représentant des objets diplomatiques et consulaires.

Article 14.

Le Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. assume la responsabilité provenant de toutes les opérations commerciales contractées, en Turquie, par sa représentation commerciale. Quant aux opérations commerciales contractées par les départements officiels de l'U.R.S.S., seuls lesdits départements seront responsables de ces opérations.

Article 15.

Les deux parties contractantes se sont mises d'accord sur le fait que la représentation commerciale et l'Ambassade du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. feront usage de son droit d'ouvrir des agences dans les villes et ports autres que la Turquie.

Constantinople, Smyrne, Trébizonde, Mersine, Izmir, Inkeu ou bien Eskichehir.

L'ouverture de nouvelles agences fera l'objet d'un accord entre les deux Gouvernements.

Article 16.

Au cas où le Gouvernement turc désirerait une représentation commerciale sur le territoire du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S., le Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. ferait profiter la dite représentation et ses fonctionnaires des mêmes droits, privilèges et exemptions qui ont été reconnus à la représentation commerciale en Turquie du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S.

Article 17.

Suivant le procédé général établi à l'égard de tous les autres pays, chacune des deux parties contractantes s'engage en ce qui concerne les importations du territoire de l'autre partie ou les exportations à destination dudit territoire à n'appliquer aucune restriction.

Article 18.

Les produits agricoles et industriels de chacune des deux parties contractantes seront conformément aux dispositions générales en vigueur de l'autre partie admis au passage en transit sur les voies ouvertes au transit toujours conformément aux dispositions générales de l'dite partie. Ils seront sur ledit territoire, exempts de toutes taxes de transit.

Indépendamment des dispositions du premier alinéa du présent article, le Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. accepte de reconnaître également à la Turquie, le droit de libre transit par les marchandises originaires et provenant de Turquie qui seront expédiées par voie de Batoum à destination des pays asiatiques ainsi que pour les marchandises originaires et provenant de Turquie qui seront expédiées, par

voie de Batoum, des vilayets orientaux de la Turquie aux vilayets occidentaux et des vilayets occidentaux aux vilayets orientaux.

Le transit, par la voie indiquée au présent article, des marchandises originaires et provenant de Turquie sera libre à la condition que les organisations du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. examinent si la Turquie est ou non le lieu de provenance et d'origine desdites marchandises.

Le mode d'exécution de cette enquête sera établi dans le protocole final annexé au présent traité.

Article 19

Il ne sera fait, sur les voies ferrées, dans les eaux territoriales et sur les voies fluviales des deux parties contractantes, aucune distinction entre les habitants des territoires de ces deux parties contractantes, en ce qui concerne le transport des voyageurs, de leurs effets personnels et des marchandises.

Il va sans dire que les dispositions du premier alinéa du présent article ne doivent aucunement préjudicier au droit des deux parties contractantes d'user comme elles le croient le plus utile de leurs chemins de fer pour le transport direct par voie ferrée des voyageurs, des effets personnels et des marchandises.

Article 20

Les embarcations et les bateaux battant pavillon de l'une des deux parties contractantes, qui pénétreront dans un port appartenant à l'autre partie en particulier pour compléter leur cargaison ou pour en débarquer une partie, pourront, en se conformant aux lois et règlements des deux pays, conserver à bord la partie de leur cargaison destinée à un autre port ou à un autre pays et réexporter cette dernière partie de leur cargaison sans être tenus au paiement de tous frais ou remises autres que les droits de garde, lesquels d'ailleurs ne pourront être perçus que suivant le taux minimum établi pour la navigation nationale.

Article 21

Les cargaisons, pour le produit ou la provenance d'un territoire d'origine, ne seront pas soumises à des taxes ou à des contributions autres ou plus fortes que celles auxquelles elles seraient soumises si elles étaient importées sous pavillon national, lorsque celles-ci seront entrées dans un autre territoire.

Les formalités relatives aux voyageurs se trouvant à bord, à leurs effets personnels et à leurs bagages seront les mêmes, s'ils voyagent sous pavillon national. Les équipages des susdits bateaux ne verront traiter comme les équipages des embarcations et des bateaux battant le pavillon de la nation la plus favorisée.

Article 22

Les dispositions des articles 20 et 21 ne seront pas appliquées aux lois spéciales ayant pour but la protection, la réorganisation et le développement du commerce maritime national, pas plus qu'aux avantages réservés au pavillon national à la pêche dans les eaux territoriales, aux services d'utilité publique, à l'emploi de pilotes à l'usage de remorqueurs ou aux services du sauvetage, même pour la navigation dans les eaux fluviales.

Article 23

La matriculation des bateaux et leur embarcation seront reconnues par les deux parties contractantes sur base des certificats et documents délivrés conformément aux lois et règlements de chacune des deux parties, par les fonctionnaires autorisés de l'État auquel ils ressortissent.

Les deux parties contractantes s'engagent à accorder un traitement spécial et favorable à la matière des droits de tonnage, de patente de propreté et autres droits semblables, à chaque fois que le tonnage net des bateaux leur appartenant sera supérieur à celui des bateaux appartenant à l'autre partie contractante.

Article 24

Les embarcations et les bateaux battant pavillon de l'une des deux parties contractantes qui pénétreront dans un port appartenant à l'autre partie en particulier pour compléter leur cargaison ou pour en débarquer une partie pourront, en se conformant aux lois et règlements des deux pays, conserver à bord la partie de leur cargaison destinée à un autre port ou à un autre pays et réexporter cette dernière partie de leur cargaison sans être tenus au paiement de tous frais ou remises autres que les droits de garde, lesquels d'ailleurs ne pourront être perçus que suivant le taux minimum établi pour la navigation nationale.

Article 25

En cas d'événements tels que naufrage, échouage, avarie, incendie, arrêt obligatoire d'un bateau ressortissant de l'une des deux parties contractantes dans les eaux de l'autre partie, le bateau et sa cargaison jouiront des mêmes avantages et faveurs auxquels ont droit les bateaux et cargaisons du pays dans les eaux duquel ils se trouvent.

Le service de pilotage, le remorquage, l'assistance pour la cargaison sont également assurés dans la même mesure que pour les ressortissants du pays même.

Tous privilèges, droits ou avantages seront appliqués de la même façon lorsqu'ils seront réciproques, soit pour les bateaux, soit pour leurs cargaisons, en faveur des bateaux nationaux.

Les marchandises exemptées de droits de douane ou autres, pour la seule raison qu'elles sont destinées à la consommation locale, ne seront soumises à aucun droit de douane.

Article 26

Les produits agricoles et industriels originaires de l'U.R.S.S. importés dans le territoire ottoman, soit directement, soit par transit, en Turquie, seront exonérés de tous droits d'importation autres ou plus élevés que ceux perçus sur les produits agricoles et industriels similaires importés de tout autre pays tiers.

Article 27

Pour toute la durée du présent traité, les produits agricoles et industriels originaires de Turquie énumérés dans la liste No. 1 annexée au présent traité, importés directement de Turquie bénéficieront, lors de leur entrée dans l'U.R.S.S., du pourcentage de réduction inscrit dans la susdite liste No. 1 et sur la base du tarif général des douanes en vigueur dans l'U.R.S.S.

Tous les produits agricoles et industriels énumérés dans la susdite liste No. 1 ainsi que les produits agricoles et industriels de la Turquie énumérés dans la liste annexe No. 2 ne seront pas, lors de leur entrée dans l'U.R.S.S., soumis à tous droits de douane et tous droits d'importation autres ou plus élevés que ceux perçus ou à percevoir sur des produits agricoles et industriels d'un pays tiers.

Article 28

Les impôts, taxes et frais perçus dans le territoire de l'une ou l'autre des deux parties contractantes, au profit de l'État, des municipalités et des corporations sur la production, la vente, la consommation et le transport des marchandises, quelles qu'elles soient, ne seront pas plus élevés ni plus onéreux que ceux qui sont perçus sur les produits agricoles et industriels et les marchandises quelconques de l'autre partie et sur les objets similaires d'un pays tiers, et ne seront soumis aux mêmes conditions les plus avantageuses.

Article 29

Chacune des deux parties contractantes accorde à l'autre partie le droit de bénéficier de ce qui concerne le mode de perception des droits de garantie douanière et les diverses formalités douanières relatives aux importations et aux exportations, de tous les avantages qu'elle a accordés ou accordera par la suite à un pays tiers quelconque.

ARTICLE 30

Chacune des deux parties contractantes conserve le droit, au moment de l'importation des produits agricoles et industriels de l'autre partie, d'exiger la production d'un certificat d'origine établissant que l'article importé a été produit dans le territoire de l'autre partie.

Les certificats d'origine des marchandises du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. seront délivrés par le Commissariat du Peuple au Commerce de l'U.R.S.S. ou par ses organisations et les certificats d'origine des marchandises turques par les Ministères du Commerce et de l'Agriculture et par leurs organisations locales ainsi que par les Chambres de Commerce de Turquie.

La forme des certificats d'origine des marchandises aussi bien exportées à destination de la Turquie par le Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. qu'importées en U.R.S.S. par la Turquie sera établie d'un commun accord entre elles par les deux parties.

Le système à adopter en ce qui concerne l'application des susdits certificats d'origine par les organisations coopératives des deux parties et sur le territoire de la partie où les marchandises seront importées dans le cas où ces certificats seront présentés conformément aux règlements en vigueur au moment de la signature du présent traité.

ARTICLE 31

Les dispositions du présent traité relatives au traitement de la nation la plus favorisée ne s'appliquent pas aux points suivants :

1° Les avantages accordés ou qui seront accordés par la Turquie aux pays limitrophes de la Turquie en vue de faciliter le commerce dans les régions frontières.

2° Les obligations et avantages découlant pour chacune des deux parties contractantes de son union douanière.

3° Les avantages accordés ou qui seront accordés par l'U.R.S.S. aux pays avec lesquels l'Empire russe était lié par un traité d'union douanière en vigueur le 1er août 1914.

4° Les dispositions des conventions existantes qui seront établies ultérieurement entre la Turquie et les pays limitrophes de l'U.R.S.S. et établissant entre eux un régime douanier spécial.

ARTICLE 32

Les agents diplomatiques et consulaires de chacune des deux parties contractantes jouiront dans le territoire de l'autre partie des privilèges et immunités qui sont ou seront accordés à ceux de la nation la plus favorisée.

Le présent traité sera ratifié et les ratifications en seront échangées à Angora le plus tôt que faire se pourra.

Il entrera en vigueur trente jours après l'échange des ratifications et restera en vigueur pendant deux années. Si, trois mois avant l'expiration de ce délai, aucune des deux parties contractantes n'aura fait connaître à l'autre son intention de mettre fin aux dispositions de ce traité, celles-ci demeureront en vigueur jusqu'à l'expiration d'un délai de six mois à compter du jour où une partie contractante aura dénoncé le traité à l'autre partie contractante.

En foi de quoi les délégués des deux parties ont signé le présent traité et y ont apposé leurs sceaux.

Fait en double à Angora le 11 mars 1927.

Protocole final

Au moment de signer le Traité de Commerce et de Navigation conclu, en date de ce jour, entre la République turque et l'U.R.S.S., les deux parties contractantes ont décidé les dispositions suivantes :

1° *Article 2.* — Par localités municipales il faut entendre en Turquie, les localités actuellement pourvues d'une municipalité. Les petites villes de 2,000 à 20,000 habitants, les grandes villes de 20,000 habitants et plus ainsi que les préfectures de ville.

2° *Article 5.* — Sous réserve de conditions spéciales pour certaines circonstances, des personnes morales de l'U.R.S.S. les deux parties contractantes entendent par [illegible]

Les termes « toute espèce d'entreprise économique » doivent être entendus comme visant tous les trusts d'État, les sociétés d'État, les unions d'État de tous genres, les coopératives et autres organisations économiques de ces sortes constituées dans le territoire de l'U.R.S.S. conformément aux lois en vigueur et disposant de

travailler dans la République turque, seront admises en territoire turc et, durant l'exercice de leur activité dans ce territoire ne se verront pas appliquer un traitement moins favorable que celui appliqué, dans ce territoire de la République turque aux sociétés commerciales, industrielles et financières, aux compagnies d'assurances et autres sociétés ainsi qu'aux personnalités morales de tous genres, ressortissants de la nation la plus favorisée.

Les formalités d'enregistrement dans le territoire de la République turque, des susdites organisations soviétiques seront, sur présentation par ces dernières, au Ministère du Commerce ou aux sections locales du dit Ministère d'une requête indiquant la raison sociale de l'établissement, son siège social, la date de la création, le montant de son capital et l'engagement contracté par elle de se soumettre aux lois turques pour tout ce qui regarde ses opérations sur territoire turc, devront être remises en mains propres légalisée par le représentant soviétique et par les agents diplomatiques ou consulaires turcs se trouvant dans l'U.R.S.S. de l'acte de constitution de la personnalité morale en question, une attestation délivrée par le Commissariat du Peuple au Commerce de l'U.R.S.S., établissant que ladite personnalité morale a été constituée conformément aux lois soviétiques en vigueur et qu'elle se trouve actuellement en activité, une procuration légalisée par le représentant soviétique, par les agents diplomatiques ou consulaires turcs se trouvant dans l'U.R.S.S. et établie par ces derniers en Turquie et non dont plus de trois mois avant la présentation de la susdite requête pour son enregistrement et autres opérations prévues par les statuts de cette institution et par toutes autres pièces exigées pour compte de cette institution en Turquie du fait de la création d'une succursale ou d'un bureau ou de tout autre poste dans les différentes régions de la Turquie.

3° *Article 12.* — Aussi longtemps que le présent traité sera en vigueur, l'agence de la Banque centrale de la République soviétique de l'U.R.S.S. actuellement établie à Constantinople et dont l'existence a été reconnue à la date de la signature du présent traité, sera transformée en succursale.

4° *Article 15.* — Il est entendu que ceux qui auront acheté des produits agricoles ou autres aux sociétés ou aux personnes qui ne sont pas citoyens de l'U.R.S.S. ne seront pas autorisés à exporter des produits achetés sur le territoire de l'U.R.S.S. à moins qu'ils ne soient munis d'un certificat attestant que ces produits sont leur propriété légale et ont été légalement achetés.

Les certificats d'origine seront délivrés par les Ministères du Commerce et de l'Agriculture ou par les organismes locaux désignés par les dits Ministères.

Les certificats d'origine qui seront délivrés par l'Agence de la Banque centrale de la République soviétique de l'U.R.S.S. en Turquie ou par ses agences ou dans les localités où il n'en existera pas, par les consulats de l'U.R.S.S.

Au cas où les douanes de l'U.R.S.S. auront des raisons de douter de la sincérité des marchandises passant en transit avec les certificats d'origine, elles pourront faire appel à un expert pour vérifier le degré de conformité des marchandises avec le certificat.

Il va sans dire que les dispositions des articles 2 et 15 ne sont pas applicables aux marchandises dont le vendeur et l'acheteur sont domiciliés tous les deux dans le territoire des deux pays.

4° *Article 23.* — Le Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. déclare que les dispositions de l'article 23 n'annulent en aucune façon ses droits sur tous les navires de commerce et de guerre appartenant au Gouvernement russe ou des nationaux soient les règlements soviétiques à être naturalisés et qui, à la suite de l'ancienne flotte russe ont été au moment de l'intervention transférés en d'autres pays ou errent ça et là par divers moyens ont été soustraits effectivement à [illegible]

Ce protocole fait partie intégrante du traité et entrera en vigueur avec celui-ci.

Fait en double à Angora le 11 mars 1927.

E 2614 17 44 No. 11

Société des Nations — Treaty Series

(No. 291.)

Signé à [illegible], le 11 mars 1927

[illegible]

Commission to [illegible] the most ably personified by Tewfik Rushdi Bey should the latter not now favour reconciliation. Shukri Kaya Bey is therefore in pursuance of more important politically he would not be the ideal representative of the Lausanne Conference. Moreover he has no particular grasp of the new problems which that conference will have to solve.

I may add that Shukri Kaya Bey is expected to be present in Geneva at the time of the meeting of the League Assembly. There have been numerous instances of Turkish statesmen attending the League Assembly in recent years, but when they have done so they have always been in the Council Chamber and not in the Assembly. I understand that Shukri Kaya Bey will be the first Turkish statesman to address the Assembly.

I have &c.

GEORGE R CLERK

E 2711 257 44

Constantinople Oct 9 1927

No 247

SIR

Constantinople Oct 9 1927

I HAVE the honour to submit herewith a memorandum by Mr Knox containing his impressions after six months residence in the capital of Turkey.

Mr Knox has successfully set himself the difficult task of trying to put on record at the beginning of his stay in Angora his impressions of the problems which confront the Turkish Government to-day. Incorrectly as these will be appreciated by most Europeans who have had no opportunity of studying the Turkish question on the spot, they will be of great interest to those who will be dealing with Turkey in the future.

I have &c.

GEORGE R CLERK

Enclosure in No 15

Memorandum by Mr Knox

IT may perhaps be worth while after six months practically continuous residence at Angora to endeavour to fix the impressions hitherto formed in this remarkable capital. These are still in many respects superficial and I have no doubt will be modified in the course of time. Enough one is receiving in Turkish society with every opportunity and thoughtful perusal of the almost overwhelming mass of literature published on Turkey, except with a few exceptions, is still the best way to enlighten oneself as to the President's [illegible] to ascertain what is in the minds of the Turkish men in the street. This impression is produced by the [illegible] of an exhaustive look of [illegible] and of the [illegible] every department with Mustafa Kemal at the head and a minister without portfolio. One is then enabled to keep in touch with the current. We remain at the end of the day by so many [illegible] that [illegible] draws from association with [illegible] the notice appears to be [illegible] and natural are often [illegible] to the foreign visitor.

The observation that the present is received in the correct such relations [illegible] to be reproduced immediately with [illegible]

accuracy and only assume some degree of coherence when summarised at lengthy intervals and adjusted with the picture which one gradually forms of the internal situation of the country as a whole. I will therefore endeavour to sketch, as I see them from Angora the nature of the regime, its aims and preoccupations, and the lesser known personalities who yet play a considerable part in the destinies of the country.

The Regime

In the constitutional theory Turkey is a republic, in which the sovereignty of the people is expressed in a unicameral Assembly which chooses from its members for the term of its own life a President of the Republic in whom are vested very extended powers. The reality is less simple. Although strictly speaking the Grand National Assembly is almost entirely composed of members of the People's party many important political questions are dealt with in the first instance by the party committee. The debates and even the votes are secret. It is only after being elaborated in the obscurity of the Committee and the parliamentary commissions that the proposals are submitted to the Assembly, a procedure that gives a plausible appearance of democratic deliberation. The initiative and power of discussion are with the party committee, the private character of which is jealously guarded. The chairman of the committee is the President of the Republic himself. He is in a position of great influence and must be consulted by any deputy who wishes to maintain his political rights. A week at the President's house. The present Assembly members are Shukri Kaya Bey, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, now President of the Foreign Affairs Commission; Sabit Bey, secretary of the People's party; Mazhar Bey and Hulki Sifki Bey, Deputies for Ankara; Agah Efendi, Auditor in the Government organ; Dr Hamdi Bey, Medical Inspector and notoriously the President's [illegible]; Nazmi Bey, Deputy for Lazistan; and half a dozen members of the Ghazi's days of obscurity. Vasif Bey, late Foreign Affairs Commissioner and more remarkable in their personal appearance than for their social culture and accomplishments, they still appear to the best [illegible] to compare favourably with drinking. There are also [illegible] secretaries and deputies, half of whom are Ali Bey and Kilij Ali Bey ex-prosecutors of the Independence Tribunals, Ali Bey, a former Minister of Commerce, Agkaya Oglou Ahmed Bey, a prominent journalist and some others. Behind the scenes are understood to be attended in their early stages by Ismet Pasha, Fevzi Pasha and Tewfik Rushdi Bey who are, however dismissed before [illegible] and business reach their height.

The President himself removed all doubt or qualms to a striking degree the reverence not to say the devotion of the coterie and he is equally certainly, the inspirer of all policy and the great driving force of the country. The official Cabinet Council and the Ministers have less weight even than is generally supposed though no doubt Ismet Pasha holds in a lesser degree other Ministers are able on occasion to apply the brake when over wild schemes are propounded. Their real rôle as I see it is more than attributed in other countries to permanent heads of departments. With this reservation it is, I think, safe to say that in all major matters the Government of the country lies essentially in the hands of the President and the inner conclave.

I have the impression as yet vaguely formed that the period of establishment of the Nationalist Government which may be said roughly to have begun with its recognition by the Powers at Mudania and which included the more spectacular and drastic reforms designed to facilitate the foundation of a new Turkey, has ended with the final blow dealt to the Opposition last summer and has given place, in intention at least to an era of consolidation. The indications as yet available are the suppression of the Independence Tribunals, the reconciliation that is taking place between the President and such former leaders of the Opposition as Ali Fuad Pasha and Hussein Rahid Bey and the elaborate preparations now being made for the forthcoming elections. These I am given to understand will result in the removal of a large proportion of the present Deputies and their replacement by new blood. In all events we will not long be kept in suspense as to the nature of the next evolution since the President's speech which is to be made at the impending Congress of the People's party and which has been in preparation for the past two months will no doubt give early information of the line of policy which it is intended to follow. It is to be noted from the experience we have already had of Mustafa Kemal Pasha that once he has definitely and publicly laid down a course of action he may be counted upon to pursue it relentlessly. It is nevertheless

evident that whatever may be the new directives the main attention of the Government will be concentrated, as before, on the organisation of defence against either internal revolt or foreign aggression, on the conversion of Asiatic Turkey into a progressive state organised on Western lines, though as far as possible through Christian agencies, as a vehicle of European culture and economic development, and on the conservation of American capital.

It is hardly to be expected that in the elaboration of this far-reaching programme the tyranny of Fuad should make itself felt overmuch in the councils of a Government such as I have discussed above. In their efforts at first concerted and all-round, as they frequently are not, they will display in their broader aspects as much of purpose and determination as often proved overlook. This estimate presupposes a set of rulers who appear not nothing less than gods among what half-friends in Anatolia may be taken on a new possible measure, they would be surprisingly large measure of success. That rather caring the native part of the Nationalist movement not that of exclusive fanaticism which it would like to represent. I fear to their opponents made a very considerable [illegible] for earnest reflection, whether their daily [illegible] matters of [illegible] provokingly distant.

It is perhaps [illegible] Angora [illegible] from [illegible] estimate of the strength [illegible] of the [illegible]. Here opposition [illegible] exists at all [illegible] and [illegible] the Allies [illegible] appear to be friends in England [illegible] the easier [illegible] who [illegible] responsibly applied [illegible] courts [illegible] effectively [illegible] and [illegible] Turkey's sisters. The secret of the people [illegible] kept, to cope with a war we [illegible] there [illegible] on the whole [illegible] Turks [illegible] early exhausted [illegible] cross where [illegible] from [illegible] Government especially when [illegible] where the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] hardened [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the hazards of struggle [illegible] short. I [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

satisfactory economic and financial situation. This up to a certain point, is patently exact; but it leaves out of consideration the brutal and all important fact that if she were to practise large economies on her armed forces she would run grave risk of losing not only the hope of stable and enduring government but even a large measure of her dearly bought independence. One cannot blame the Turk for appreciating the obvious, if unpalatable truth that his under-populated and ill-developed country offers a vacuum that would prove, if undefended, an irresistible attraction to over-populated and expansive Powers.

Proportionately Turkey's expenditure on national defence is very heavy, amounting to 36 per cent. of her budget (exclusive the same figure as in the case of the Ottoman Empire before the war. The actual expenditure on the army (£T 58 million, or approximately £6 million according to this year's estimate) cannot be judged excessive in itself for a force of about the same size as the German Reichswehr, which it would be folly for the rulers of the country to leave unprepared for emergency.

The Capital

The strategical and political considerations which originally prompted the choice of this inhospitable centre of Anatolia for the capital of Turkey have in the past five years ostensibly of their force and the scepticism as to its results that I brought with me to Angora a year ago have given place to a new and unpolished fact, as the conviction grew on former visitors that the present regime and its capital are indissolubly welded. Every effort is being exerted with a fine disregard of expense, even of possibility, to make of Angora the economic and social as well as the political centre of the country. New projects of railway and harbour construction are being generally to this end, and enormous sums are being spent. Banks spring up like mushrooms over ever larger and more imposing sites, but all with an eventually Federal capital. Houses, shops, villas are built in every direction with no coherent plan, in a wave of optimistic speculation. New roads are traced and abandoned after a mile of feverish and expensive work in order to seek another alignment suitable to some man of influence or if the real inhabitants subside in a few days under the stress of inclement traffic. There no doubt, is deterred by endless bankruptcy goes on from one unprofitable project to another even more wasteful and inept than the last. A veritable sweating is gradually emerging from this chaos, a number of Deputies are amassing respectable fortunes, the population of the surrounding country has more and better paid work than it could ever have dreamed of, swamps have been drained, a few trees have been planted and Ankara, as the hilly village is rapidly assuming the aspect of a shoddy bath and plaster town.

Above the more material aim of creating a visible capital there is ever present in the mind of the Government the ambition of crowning their accomplishment by massing at Angora a social centre to lure Ambassadors to live in. Here their efforts, for all the experiments are more than ever disjointed and uncouth, and their result is perhaps the most painful feature of life in this curious spot. Dances and tea parties follow each other throughout the winter and the spring with a monotony and often squalor that once the first shock of amusement is past are heartbreaking. The "social material" is as yet distinctly crude. The men are on the average like the usual product of revolutions everywhere. With few exceptions their general education is limited in the extreme and their experience of the outside world negligible. When due allowance is made for these drawbacks it must be admitted that, on the whole, they are more presentable than might reasonably be expected. Though their ignorance of ordinary social usage is complete their native manners are often good, if somewhat difficult. They are rarely at their ease in the presence of women but among themselves they are easy and friendly enough, and in their own circle, apart from a very rare colleague one meets nothing but Turks, my reception has always been pleasant and cordial. The great majority are Gargantuan drinkers, but their powers are remarkable, and those who even reach obvious drunkenness are few. So much for the general; but there are, however, amongst them notable exceptions. One personality, that of the Political Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, is as competent and tolerant a colleague as I would hope to meet in any country, and there are amongst the Ministers and the Presidents immediate circle one or two men with whom it is in Angora at least a pleasure to associate. In this sense the spread of Western ideas is very rapid, and it is by no means impossible that on the forthcoming purge of the National Assembly many of the new Deputies

will be chosen for their table manners and their attainments in European dress and the Charleston.

The women should, perhaps, in view of their recent large emancipation, present more interest. A few of those who had grown up before the change come, indeed, do so. They are generally of a higher social standing and educated on than their menkind and have either had European governesses throughout their childhood or spent some part of their youth abroad. They possess both charm and culture, accompanied by a refreshing dignity and repose. These are, I fear, small ones which Angora at present in the process of appropriating and the type is doomed to extinction. The others are not attractive. A small advance guard reproduces creditably the strident self-satisfaction of the young woman who misses herself most widely seen and heard in Europe to-day, whilst the remainder (the vast majority) sit at parties in unsprightly silence or else in strangely conspicuous garments, and watch the dancing made as if waiting for a passing train.

Economic Development

It is in the economic direction that the least progress has been made, and that the stability of the country is in my opinion most likely to be threatened. In fact, when one considers his aspirations, one should not be surprised to discover that the Turkish State, as yet, is choked with its existing but no devices of its own. Loans to be rejected or strayed on. Do not now. This is, however, on reflection, not unfortunate, the Turk is by instinct a peasant, a primitive agriculturist, and should, as in all countries, be spared every effort but is also a good soldier and fighter. Specialisation and co-operation are, indeed, the curse of this Western civilisation, and the economic development of the country has throughout its history been entirely in the hands of the Greek, the Jew and the Armenian. The triumph of the Nationalist movement and the large exchanges granted by the Treaty of Lausanne have left the people whose activity however limited, is yet pronounced, and will, we hope, be the type of wave of unpatriotic success and the creative reaction of Communism on the soil, is very. The result has been three years of the most open struggle against foreign and domestic enterprise. Their motives have been varied, and in two cases to demonstrate on every occasion that the Turk was to be left to his house, to wrest to acquire for themselves the profits and perquisites which, as of inferior race, had in the past so easily amassed the developed by virtue of creating and developing a purely Turkish State, and lastly the fear of European political penetration in the guise of economic enterprise. In this phase the Government have been guilty of every possible mistake, except the crowning folly of inflation which by some miracle has been avoided. As a consequence the country has been considerably impoverished and much of its trade and industry has been driven to take refuge with its traditional rival, Greece.

Even without such a policy as the wild experiments that have accompanied its application the financial and economic condition of Turkey is far from promising. The country's assets are not to be valued, inconsiderable they consist of a vast territory possessing some rich agricultural products and potentialities, but in great part afflicted with centuries of barrenness and gravely lacking in communications also it is believed much mineral wealth most of which however is still hypothetical or inaccessible. It is at the same time grievously under-populated and since the removal of its most productive elements, Christian few workers even for its present needs, and these slow and unadaptable. Its habilitées are a considerable burden of debt inherited from the Ottoman Empire, and the present Government's carry acts of spoliation, heavy expenditure on national defence and great wastage due to inefficiency and corruption. Moreover Turkey, like many a more advanced State since the war, is indulging in a reckless orgy of governmental squandering, but with one great difference. In the case of less primitive organisms much of the Government extravagance is deliberately designed to maintain social equilibrium, to create artificial prosperity, to give employment to trade, and in sum to bolster up an obsolete system which in spite of many cracks it may be showing at the base is still the keystone of our civilisation. Turkey is not cursed with such cares. In her case the grandiose schemes which it is proposed to execute in the course of the next few years spring from the vain dream of a masking of Asiatic Turkey a highly developed Western State, encouraged by a host of interested advisers, who see in them only an opportunity for profits and perquisites. If Turkey would resign herself to going modestly clad in however Western garments, and would cut her cloth accordingly, there would be hope of her living comfortably, even usefully, within the limits of

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

her natural budget. Such a hope is, however, remote. There are, indeed, some slight symptoms of general improvement: the budget has on paper at least been balanced, the deficit subsisting from former years has been considerably reduced, and exports show a gradual expansion. There are too signs that the present economic policy has brought some measure of disillusionment: xenophobia is undoubtedly on the wane, and the rulers tend to look on the foreigner no longer so much as a designing invader as a useful, almost a necessary, ally. Yet there is no indication that the Turkish Government is high tentatively casting about for outside help: have in any way resigned themselves to surrendering either the security or the necessary measure of foreign control that must accompany it if it is to be granted an ell rope at least from a sound source of personal benefits.

For myself, I have the distinct impression that Turkey is rapidly approaching the parting of the ways: that long-cherished hopes of a quick and glorious harrowing [illegible] that the experiment presently carried out will not come to full maturity, and that we may expect a complete, even moderate part of them without the heavy sacrifices still which it is to be met by any true friend of mankind to view. I have already referred to the irreconcilable elements. On the one hand, there is the fanatical belief in the weakness of the present rulers and a ready appeal to force. Little pressure from above is a strong [illegible] that the Kemalist leaders and his advisers seriously believe that a war with the forces of Turkey could in a few years [illegible] in the pan-Islamic [illegible] and economic conflict that they [illegible] to the Near East and to the Balkans and Caucasus and [illegible] that is so [illegible] of the existing [illegible] a threat [illegible] to the [illegible] of the Allies. Under the existing [illegible] and control [illegible] [illegible] apparent [illegible] to the Powers [illegible] [illegible] will be effected by the abrogation of the [illegible] of the Treaty of Lausanne so [illegible] to the President's [illegible] [illegible] with present régime. [illegible] [illegible] will be [illegible] considered before [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] this. Here again it may [illegible] well be that [illegible] [illegible] and that Turkey in the way of the East will seek in collaboration both [illegible] and effectively to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Personalities

Mustafa Kemal Pasha

Since I arrived in Angora a year ago I have rarely seen the President of the Republic save on official occasions. His attitude towards me has been [illegible] with a haughty reluctance which, as I am aware, was [illegible] interpreters. For the most part and to some extent, I daresay, still, the impression I may have created in his mind [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] opinions as I have been able to form of him are drawn from what I have learned of his history, and from the conversation of his intimate friends, of which he affords the ever recurring theme.

In personal appearance he is unimpressive. He is short with a tendency to stoutness, his features have nothing remarkable about them and his very fair hair is rapidly thinning. A fixed expression of sternness is not always cultivated, and relaxes at will into a particularly attractive smile which is perhaps his most striking characteristic.

He is now 46 years of age. His parentage and education were an distinguished. His military career is well known. Its [illegible] even was the Tripoli campaign. The bold enterprise of [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] resources, a mob of desert Arabs and [illegible] [illegible] against [illegible] of Power no doubt did much to [illegible] his [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] would [illegible] fortune favoured him and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] retreat by victorious and spontaneous [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Less is known of his early political life. He played a prominent part in the revolution of 1908 and in the period of active intrigue that followed [illegible] overshadowed by the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress. It is said by his friends that, for all his temporary allegiance, he was never at heart a true disciple of the committee, but leaned always towards the ideas then voiced only by the newly created

Foyer ture, which he has since made his own, and which may be roughly resumed as the integral nationalism of the Turk as opposed to that of the Ottoman. This may or may not be true: the question is academic and [illegible] those. It is enough that once he had made his first profession de foi to a minute band of nearly outlaws in the heart of Anatolia and launched them on a vast and seemingly impossible adventure, he has never wavered. His final success appeals still to those who were close spectators of the earlier phases of the Nationalist movement little short of miraculous. It has, indeed been given to few men to effect against such heavy odds, both foreign and domestic, so complete a revolution. Here again, as in his military career, he enjoyed his full share of good luck, but the least part of which was due to our own action in deporting, without coherent plan and with the most ill-assorted aims, all possible rivals who might have stood in his way. Such consideration, however, in no wise detracts from the greatness of his achievement. Rare intrepidity of conception and determination alone could have set a vital spark to the native lethargy of his countrymen, dumbfounded as it was by disarmament, disunion and the exhaustion resulting from a decade of incessant war.

Since the acute phase of the struggle ended the Ghazi has kept his turbulent team in hand and [illegible] shown, with [illegible] [illegible] a true compromise with the flexibility appropriate to times of peace, the same single minded resolve to direct the destinies of his country according to his own lights regardless of traditions and susceptibilities. Here it is early as yet to appreciate results, but the measure of success attained is already large and his energy seems unimpaired. It is now entirely absorbed in the elaboration of an account of his stewardship to be rendered to the Congress of the People's Party which will meet before the impending dissolution of Parliament that marks the close of his present term of presidency.

With historical [illegible] of this type were, for [illegible] Englishmen, have [illegible] their way to greatness [illegible] [illegible] exaggerated [illegible] their virtues and to [illegible] vices. Thus, observers in general [illegible] [illegible] to Mustafa Kemal's undoubted qualities and are [illegible] [illegible] biased by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the Head of the State [illegible] [illegible] to admire wholeheartedly [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] defects. We ourselves are perhaps especially prone to [illegible] him as [illegible] light. The legend of the gentleman Turk was in its origin [illegible] normal and effective piece of war propaganda [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] early Victorian England [illegible] [illegible] with a polyglot [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] has, however, survived as an article of faith in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] three generations, and we have, under its influence, accepted, without probing the [illegible] [illegible] that often decorated the Turk of the old régime. It is consequently disturbing [illegible] [illegible] to come suddenly upon the Asiatic in his natural nakedness and it is only after close contact with the men in power in Turkey to-day that one learns to [illegible] essential truth that Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his entourage are crude [illegible] [illegible] sons of [illegible] soldiers, of village doctors and schoolmasters whose Western [illegible] [illegible] is still [illegible] the main no more than an ingredient [illegible] [illegible] and who have only assimilated as yet that part of it that is represented by the machine gun or the [illegible] [illegible]. If we keep this consideration in sight we can hardly expect that the President of the Republic should yet have mastered his part. The [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] incense in which he lives is dense and perpetual. His experience of Europe is [illegible] confined to his stage as military attaché at Sofia and his Western associations have hitherto been for the most part with the adventurers of journalism or with politicians and diplomats of the type of M. Franklin Bouillon, M. Barrère and Admiral Bristol: [illegible] sycophants *laudare parati si bene curaveri*. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

utterly a number of business enterprises which are usually of a somewhat shady nature, and in which his Government takes too paternal an interest In such a character it is not the robustest but the petty vices that surprise The Ghazi, like all those around him, strikes his visitor as that he still possesses complete self-control and wins respect without problem can for long periods refrain drinks also with coffee and tobacco It is also well to remember that he and his companions have for many years so mentally and physically very strenuous lives that they have the scanty respect for appearances of men who have made their own laws and done so by if perhaps more emphatically what their fathers did behind drawn blinds As regards women, the latest declared opponent of purdah as an institution has the experiment of monogamy was far from a success in his present unobtrusive and expensive harem is perhaps designed as much for the guests as for the head of a people whose oldest and proudest boast is whether it is satisfy as own appetites It is not fit, quite likely that my other conclusions will be misinterpreted Some will call it a model highly regrettable such a one as they and be the ought of hours the present company consequences who has mastered the Asiatic recognition is one most marked strengths personality for the country Which is more likely the ideals to apply his powers Ha laws not taken hand in his plunge and it was so of the Asiatic Mas Hilmi traders among the latest tests to which his character has been subjected the essential fact that Mustafa Kemal is a European and that in his native habits of the independent his heart Western Wo in the conditions the gold was of the Asiatic executive

Of the Grand Vizier who was the most Gladstonian in his power of writing and keeping friends and the people who worship the Sultan among tribal Turkish interests After the Greek and the Sultanate duty at his death to secure that a strong Grand Vizier the Imperial nearly days of Victoria order to the Sultanate Forest hopes It is a habit too the era one of his not to secure his own a new ascendancy in his own person. Ingal was one of the Sultan's plus sophistication as a man of letters seeing the Sultan and the things with a strong with an ironic smile now safe and to show any favourite such a cut secret success in the Sultan and Western appeal to every Asiatic and perhaps the most Arabic quality that a ruler can possess

If as may well be Mustafa Kemal's Press retires a sudden riot and his work is carried in our lifetime Europe's verdict will be by Moslems as well as the Oriental section has as more Europeans in power to be grown up but not placed avarice the Sultan should with the and the Sultan has a new capital for all the evils of its origin and he is the work of Mustafa and Ottoman, as a man of the Sultan's Sultan and Sultan's Sultan and Sultan's Sultan and

Commission. A very close friend of the President. He is a man of education, of a creditable European and very wide Oriental culture. A good talker, with an instinct for what is interesting, and with novel and illuminating views on Islamic history. He knows French remarkably well and speaks it with an exuberance of Oriental image that is attractive. His name is now mentioned for the post of Turkish Minister at Budapest. He offers in this desert a rare oasis of culture, and I trust, for my own sake, that the appointment will not materialise. His wife is good-looking and civilised, but spends most of the year in Constantinople or Europe, ostensibly for her health, but really, it is whispered, to keep her as much as possible out of range of the Ghazi's eye.

Colonel Nuri Bey (Deputy for Kutahia).

Was a companion of Mustafa Kemal in the Tripoli campaign of 1911, and has been his close friend ever since. He has a very direct and soldierly manner and every appearance of frankness, but is, I fear, rapidly succumbing to drink. He has, like many others, taken to speculation in house property at Angora, without possessing the beginnings of business sense. The resultant disillusionment is probably hastening a downfall that I feel is not far off.

GEOFFREY KNOX.

Angora, May 20, 1927.

[E 2715/173/44] No. 46.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 20.)

(No. 303.)

Therapia, June 14, 1927.

Sir,

I HAD the honour to receive in due course your despatch No. 202 of the 23rd April last, containing documents lodged by the Turkish Government with the League of Nations in an endeavour to show that Turkey had fulfilled her obligations to enact special laws for the minorities as regards questions of family status. That the manner in which the agreement of the minorities was obtained, and the value of it, when obtained, was questionable, was shown in my predecessor's despatch No. 892 of the 8th December, 1925, and it may be of interest if I offer some observations on the present situation.

2. The chief difficulty now experienced by the minorities is that as communities they have no legal standing. The Lausanne settlement left the Churches without any temporal powers, and the communities in the management of their secular affairs have since then been proceeding only on a *de facto* basis. Nominally and legally they cannot even own property; in actual fact they cannot dispose of it. They have strictly no legal status in the management of their hospitals and schools, and it seems doubtful whether in a purely legal sense there can now be a valid election of a Patriarch. The various communities—Greek, Armenian and Jewish—are trying to have these things regularised, but they find every kind of obstacle put in their way by the Turkish authorities, who have no motive for making life easy for the minorities.

3. Some months ago the Greeks submitted draft regulations for their own affairs. The Turks replied urging, among other things, that in the election of a Patriarch the laity—no doubt as being particularly susceptible to official influence—should participate. The Greeks found a rejoinder to this, and there the matter remains.

4. In both the Gregorian-Armenian and the Armenian-Catholic communities there have been disturbances this year. Malcontents have questioned the right of the Acting Gregorian Patriarch and of the Armenian Catholic Patriarch to deal with his community's properties and, in general, with its secular affairs. There have been violent demonstrations at the patriarchates, and, although the attitude of the police was not incorrect, there is some reason to suppose that the malcontents have had a measure of official encouragement.

5. The Jews have been patiently trying to work out in conjunction with the Turks a statute for putting their affairs in order. They have been held up by trivial technical obstacles. Among other things, the Turks objected to the traditional title of "Grand Rabbi," insisting that it should be merely "Rabbi." That office is at present held by an infirm and timid old gentleman, and many of his co-religionists here feel that as long as he remains the affairs of the community are unlikely to be settled.

6. In addition to the disabilities described above, it may be recalled that Greeks, Armenians and Jews—far from having State employment open to them—can in practice not be engaged by public utility undertakings, such as railways, tramways and telephones, and can hardly be employed by big commercial concerns like banks and insurance companies. Furthermore, official insistence, which is increasing rather than diminishing, on the devotion of time to the teaching of Turkish and of history, geography, &c., in Turkish, in minority schools is a very serious violation of the educational liberty accorded to non-Moslems by the Lausanne Treaty. In spite of all this, however, the position of non-Moslems here has improved very much in the last two years. Although there is plenty of petty vexation, there is no longer persecution. Papa Efthim, the would-be head of the "Turkish Orthodox Church," is rarely heard of. He still holds on to two churches in Galata, but the Turkish court before which he sued the Orthodox Patriarch for damages on account of his ex-communication came, after some delay, to the very proper conclusion that it was incompetent to hear the case. It is a good sign, too, that the Greeks are able, as stated above, to object to Turkish proposals for the regularisation of their position, and that the Armenian Patriarchate should have ventured to reclaim—certainly without much result so far—properties belonging to it in Anatolia. The minorities are undoubtedly depressed, but that is due largely to economic causes which affect Moslem and non-Moslem alike. This depression and the difficulty of escaping service in labour battalions—although service in these appears not to be excessively hard—cause a continuous exodus of non-Moslems. No doubt many more would go if they could only sell their property, but there is still an embargo on the transfer of Greeks' property, and for all the market is bad.

7. As you are aware, the non-Moslems are now confined almost entirely to Constantinople. There are no Greeks in Anatolia and only a handful of Armenians and Jews distributed over the towns. In the south-east of Anatolia there are a few Maronites and other Syrian Christians in Cilicia, a remnant of the Jacobites at Mardin, and of Assyrians and Chaldeans north of Irak. But of these latter the only news I receive comes through the High Commissioner at Bagdad.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2831/1672/44] No. 47.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 317.)

Therapia, June 22, 1927.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 207 of the 3rd May last, in connection with the activities of the German firm of Julius Berger of Berlin, relative to railway construction, I have the honour to inform you that the local press now announces that a convention has been signed between the Turkish Government and the German group for the construction of the following railways:—

(*a.*) The Kutahia–Tavchanli et Prolongement (225 Kilom.).

(*b.*) The Oulou Kichla–Bogas Keupru line (180 kilom.). Bogas Keupru is situated about 10 miles west of Caesarea.

2. I hope shortly to obtain a copy of the convention relative to these undertakings, as well as precise information as to the system of guarantee which the Turkish Government is to furnish against the constructional work to be executed by the contractors.

3. According to the press, the contracting firm is to commence operations in respect to the Kutahai–Tavchanli line within a maximum period of forty-five days as from the 15th June, the date of the signature of the convention, whilst operations in respect to the Oulou Kichla–Bogas Keupru line are to be taken in hand six months later.

4. It is reported that the firm of Julius Berger, in conjunction with the Deutsche Orient Bank, is raising a loan of 65 million gold marks to be paid back by the Government over a period of seven years. Four payments will be made in accordance with progress on the two lines.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

[E 2832/1672/44] No. 48.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 318.)

Sir, *Therapia, June 22, 1927.*

SINCE the future of Turkey is largely dependent upon her economic condition, the enclosed copies of certain confidential reports,* drawn up by the local branch of the Ottoman Bank and supplied to me in strict confidence by its British manager, Mr. Reid, have considerable interest.

2. For convenience of reference I also enclose a summary of these reports prepared by a member of my staff (Mr. Mallet), which brings out the salient points of each.

3. The conclusion to be drawn from them is that Turkey seems to be moving in a vicious circle. She has set her feet in the way of Westernisation, with its attendant necessity for a balanced budget and a sound policy of economic development, such as the East has never known. For development she needs capital; but as yet she is unwilling to take the necessary steps to attract it from abroad by facing her unpaid debts and giving foreign trade a fair chance. The Association of Foreign Bondholders in London, the holders of Ottoman debt coupons in Paris and elsewhere, and the numerous British and foreign companies interested in moribund mining or engineering enterprises in this country receive no compensation; but the Republican Government of Turkey continues to mortgage its already assigned revenues to Swedish, Danish, Belgian and German groups for the construction of railways and other public works of a purely hypothetical commercial value.

4. Negotiations for a construction contract with the important American Ulen group recently failed for the second time, presumably because the security offered by the Turkish Government was not considered to be sufficient by conservative finance in America. The money markets of Paris, London and New York therefore appear for the time being to be united in their policy of withholding money from Turkey until she meets her overdue obligations.

5. Nevertheless, German groups continue to finance new railway and development projects in this country. The Dresdner Bank is said to be largely at the back of the Swedish and Danish group, which has begun work on the Heraclé–Angora and Keller–Malatia Diarbekir lines; and an agreement is now reported to have been signed between the Julius Berger Consortium and the Turkish Government for the construction of further railway lines, reported in my despatch No. 207 of the 3rd May.

6. The deciding factor of this continued trust by German business interests in the ability and willingness of Turkey to meet her mounting obligations towards them is said by the German Embassy itself to be the absolute necessity of obtaining orders to keep the German metal and heavy industries working at high pressure. For this reason the same source maintains that profits are cut to a minimum and all warnings that the security offered for these enterprises by the Turkish Government has already been in part assigned to others or is grossly overestimated in value are disregarded.

7. There can be little doubt that, whatever the motive, German firms are sweeping the steel, iron and machinery markets of Turkey. In part this may be due to lower prices; in part it is certainly due to the intimate connection between German firms and the various members of the Turkish departments responsible for placing these contracts. German advisers there are in the Public Works and other Ministries; German officers in the fleet and acting clandestinely as military advisers in such fortified zones as Smyrna. Through these people advance information probably reaches German interests, and it is noticeable that, largely owing no doubt to the fact that railways, bridges and rolling-stock in Turkey are mostly of German construction, the specifications for new materials and supplies are almost always issued in German and to German standards and gauges.

8. Germany therefore has a strong economic hold on Turkey, and her industrialists seem to have decided to strengthen that hold by showing obvious trust in Turkey's ability and willingness to pay and accepting the security others refuse for the large constructional enterprises of this country.

9. The nature of the security offered is consequently worth examining. In the case of the Swedish and probably the German railway contracts, it consists of Government bonds backed by the semi-official Turkish banks, such as the Ish Bankassi

* Not printed.

and the Agricultural Bank, redemption of these bonds being guaranteed as they fall due every three or six months; that is, as the constructional works proceeds. But the banks themselves are really the Turkish Government or its more influential members. In the Ish Bankassi the President of the Republic has large interests; indeed, he and his small coterie of intimate friends derive no small profit from its operations, although the money used is freely reported to belong to the State. That such banks are at present profitable there can be little doubt; but in the sense of true finance they offer no security whatever.

10. The security offered to foreign enterprise therefore amounts to no more than the good name and goodwill of the present or future Turkish Governments. So long as order reigns, taxes are paid and budgets balance or deficits are made good by invisible assets, Turkey hopes to be able to pay her new creditors. Indeed, it is essential for her to do so in that she has already trampled upon the rights of her old ones and set her face against meeting their demands on the plea that the debts were incurred by the old and degenerate Ottoman Sultans, and that new Turkey should not be saddled with this burden at the outset of her career as a modernised State.

11. But the interests of the German financier and the German merchant are in the long run one and the same, which must, it would seem, make it next to impossible for the present régime to continue indefinitely its steadfast policy of squeezing the foreign merchant, particularly in Constantinople and Smyrna, while at the same time persuading the German Embassy and the incoming financier to recommend the outlay of German capital in this country.

12. For the German merchant must needs report home on his inability to make both ends meet because of the lack of good faith or obstructive policy of the Turkish departments; and, despite clandestine orders for munitions and similar occasional windfalls, there is good reason to believe that all is not well with the hardworking German trader in this country, whose cries to his Embassy and his supplier in Germany against extortion and unfair handicaps wax ever louder and louder.

13. A considerable factor, moreover, in the economic status of the country is the venality or otherwise of the Administration.

14. In this respect Turkey has perhaps never been above reproach; but there can be little doubt of the almost universal corruption of officials to-day, from the highest to the lowest.

15. At the head stands the President, who recently accepted a new and luxurious car from a candidate for a large contract in Angora, whose success was thereafter regarded as a foregone conclusion; at the foot stands the custom official, whose price for passing trunks unopened, despite a vast espionage system, varies from 50 to 100 piastres!

16. So marked is this corruption to-day that the chief claim to fame of two members of the Cabinet is openly stated to be the impossibility of bribing them. Caused largely by the utter inadequacy of the salaries of all Government officials, the results are not far to seek. Roads in Angora are tripled and built without foundation or soling; contracts placed and accepted with the main object of providing the requisite percentage for the Deputy or Minister concerned; and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that personal profit rather than national necessity is often the deciding factor in the grandiose schemes now being started all over the country.

17. This to some extent may also account for the apparent steadfastness with which the President and his immediate advisers pursue their plans without due regard to finance; but I do not wish to press this point too far, as there is also undoubtedly a striving after ideals which animates the Ghazi in his present task of modernising his country, and which is an important factor in closing the public eye to the venality of his Government.

18. It is my impression, therefore, that Turkey is hazarding a very great deal in a gambler's throw of the dice.

19. It will be seen from the enclosures that these appear to the expert eye of the financier to be loaded against her. In which case she can only turn to her German friend for help in the hated form of loans, or persuade others to give up their present aloofness and help her lest she relapses into traditional Eastern helplessness in matters of finance.

20. It is at least significant that the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs claims that already the "ring" against his country is broken. England is lending to Germany and Germany is financing Turkey. If, argues Tewfik Rushdi Bey, Turkey were to default, so would German firms who have more or less directly secured the capital for their enterprises from Great Britain. Therefore in the long run

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Great Britain will find it cheaper and more advantageous to finance Turkish enterprises herself, and France, whose coupon holders are watching the British bondholders' resistance to Turkish offers with some fretfulness, will not be far behind. The optimism of the speaker quoted is well known to you, but it is possibly more or less true that English money lent to Germany is in this manner finding its way to Turkey. The important point unknown to Tewfik Rushdi Bey and myself is the degree of security offered by German firms to British capital; and this point will decide whether Germany is taking the entire risk of a Turkish default or is in a sense underwriting it in Great Britain and perhaps in the United States of America, while hoping herself to secure the benefits, both political and financial, that accrue to her from her friendship with this progressive Eastern gambler.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 48.

SUMMARY.

Turkey's Internal Capacity for Payment.

THE budget of 1926–27 has been theoretically balanced:—

	£T.
Receipts	190,158,854
Expenditure	190,103,544
	55,310

But in fact the budget 1926–27 inherited from that of 1925–26 a deficit of some £T. 20 million, to which must be added a deficit of some £T. 12 million from the interim budget of March–May 1926, £T. 5 million resulting from use by the Treasury of the equivalent to one month's salaries of civil servants whose pay was kept in arrears, and a supplementary credit of £T. 3,500,000 voted in April, *i.e.*, a total actual deficit of about £T. 40 million.

In January 1927 it was announced that the Turkish Government had paid off £T. 34 million of its debts. This was done by: (1) Cutting off 13 per cent. from all Ministerial budgets = £T. 20 million, (2) making use of £T. 7 million allocated to external debt; (3) spending an advance of the Treasury on £T. 7 million gathered from certain taxes which are paid almost in full during the first months of the financial year, *i.e.*, total £T. 34 million. This latter item is only an advance which will have to be repaid to the Treasury at end of year. There will remain therefore at the end of the year a deficit of £T. 7 million plus £T. 6 million = £T. 13 million.

The budget of 1927–28 will therefore inherit a deficit of £T. 13 million. This will probably be increased—

(1.) By the failure of the spirit monopoly, the revenue from which was estimated at £T. 6,500,000 but will probably amount to only £T. 3,500,000.

(2.) An approximate credit of £T. 5 million for the concession of the Ouloukishla–Caesarea and Kutahia–Tavchanli Railways; altogether, a deficit of some £T. 21 million. If the same economies on Ministerial budgets were made as in 1926–27 (£T. 20 million) this could be almost wiped out, but unfortunately in 1926–27 more than half the sum derived from these economies, or £T. 11,500,000, was made over to railway construction. This, in view of the Government's plan for Public Works, will again be the case in 1927–28. There would remain, then, a deficit of £T. 12,500,000.

(3.) To wipe this off and to provide the £T. 17 million or £T. 18 million necessary to meet the payments on the coupons, the Government will have to produce £T. 23 million, in addition to the £T. 7 million already provided for the service of the debt in the budget of 1927–28.

The only source available for this is the budget of Defence and Public Works, amounting in all to 50 per cent. of the whole expenditure of the State.

2. *Can the Turkish Budget bear an Annual Charge of £T. 17 million.*

1. In 1923–24 Turkish taxable resources had to pay £T. 110 million to the State; in 1926–27 the same resources had to meet a demand of £T. 190 million from

the national income. In addition, local taxes have to be paid to the amount (in 1925) of £T. 45 million, an increase of 400 per cent. over the figure for 1920. This payment of £T. 235 million in 1925 represents 33·5 per cent. of the national income, whereas taxation in England amounts only to 22·3 per cent. of the whole. It is clear that higher taxation in Turkey is unlikely to be productive of increased revenue.

2. Therefore economies must be effected. The Defence budget in 1926–27 was more than double that of 1924–25. If reduced only to the level of 1925–26 it would make available the £T. 17 million needed and would even then represent more than a quarter of the total budget. Similar arguments apply to the Public Works budget (14 per cent. of whole), which is largely strategic expenditure.

3. *Turkey's Capacity to Buy Foreign Currency.*

Can Turkey buy the £6,000 sterling a day needed to pay its debts without unsettling its exchange? Turkish financial balance before the war was unfavourable to the extent of about £15 million a year; exchange was maintained by foreign loans. After the war Turkey bought heavily abroad, and in four years ran up an unfavourable balance of some £T. 180 million, which resulted in steady depreciation of the Turkish pound. In latter years the trade balance has always been unfavourable. To this must be added expenses of freights and marine insurance, payment of dividends to foreign shareholders in Turkish companies, payment of interest on some foreign debt, and purchase of war material abroad. Against these can be set only the expenditure of visitors to Turkey. The result is a steadily growing deficit amounting in 1925 to £T. 86 million. However, even with the addition of £T. 17 million for the debt, this still remains lower than the pre-war deficit. Governmental policy has aimed steadily at removing the causes of this deficit by helping agriculture to increase exports, by imposing taxes to check imports, by building up manufactures, and by encouraging a national mercantile marine and national insurance. Export trade has already increased from 36 per cent. of the whole turnover before the war to 46 per cent.

The purchase of £T. 17 million worth of foreign stock might affect the exchange adversely, but should not do so, since it amounts only to £6,000 a day in a day's turnover on the Stamboul market of £150,000.

Turkey's capacity to purchase foreign stock to pay annuities on, and to amortise, her external debt depends on her financial balance. In 1926, thanks to increasing exports, to the introduction of capital by foreign syndicates exploiting monopolies, and to the increased number of visitors to Turkey, the deficit has been reduced to about £T. 40 million. But even if the excess of imports over exports, now amounting to about £T. 18 million, were to be completely wiped out, the necessity of paying £T. 17 million annually would increase the deficit once more to £T. 40 million. In this case the Turkish pound would inevitably continue to fall. It is, however, true that the mere fact of starting to pay off the debt would start a sentimental movement in favour of the Turkish pound, and would facilitate the influx of foreign capital, which, by improving the balance of trade, would in its turn enable more money to be put aside for debt settlement.

Conclusions.

The only reliable way in which Turkey can maintain her exchange at a point high enough to enable her to pay off her foreign debt is by ensuring that her general trade balance is not unfavourable. This can only be arrived at (1) by the influx of foreign capital—itself dependent on the settlement of the debt; and (2) by economies on purchases of war and railway material abroad, and on Defence and Public Works at home, which would provide the Government with the funds needed to balance its budget.

[E 2835/74/65] No. 49.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(*Received June* 27.)

(No. 321.)

Sir, *Therapia, June* 22, 1927.

THE attached extract from a Turkish paper of the 20th June* is worthy of note in connection with the decision of the Turkish Government to close the Turkish frontier to the nomad Kurdish tribes from Iraq, as reported in my despatch No. 213 of the 4th May.

2. In practice, this law gives authority to the Turkish Government to transport from the eastern vilayets an indefinite number of Kurds or other elements considered to be recalcitrant by the authorities at Angora. Nominally, the law enables the Government to transfer some 2,000 rebel families from the Kurdish districts in general, and from the Bayezid (not Bitlis, as the extract wrongly says) Vilayet in particular. As stated in my despatch No. 192 of the 20th April last, the Government had already begun to apply to the Kurdish elements, against which it is making war, the policy which so successfully disposed of the Armenian Minority in 1915. It is a curious trick of fate that the Kurds, who were the principal agents employed for the deportation of the Armenians, should be in danger of suffering the same fate as the Armenians only twelve years later. There is not, however, at present reason to think that the Government will attempt to carry out deportations on the scale of 1915.

3. The law passed by the Grand National Assembly gives the deportees certain judicial rights of appeal in respect of the liquidation of property, but the shortness of the respite allowed to them would probably nullify the value of this privilege, and it is impossible to say how far any appeal would actually be given a hearing.

4. No indication is given of the districts to which they are to be sent, and in the case of the poorer ones, at all events, it may be excusable to wonder how many will reach their allotted destinations.

5. Last month the Government newspaper, in discussing the eastern provinces again, regretted that lack of funds held up the execution of the programme of reforms. Such things as the organisation of inspectorates, the impounding of arms, the reorganisation of law courts, the taking of a census, the establishment of a land registry and the breaking up of the tribes—which is, of course, the Government's ambition—all needed money. Reforms must, therefore, Mahmud Bey said, be expected to come slowly, but, although there had been agitation stimulated from within Turkey and from without, both before and after the establishment of the Angora régime, there was in the Kurdish districts no national feeling worth speaking of, neither Kurdish nor Turkish. He therefore welcomed the intention of the Minister of Education to run the schools in the east with teachers thoroughly imbued with modern Turkish ideas.

6. The Kurdish Amnesty Bill has been for some time with the Parliamentary Judicial Commission, but it now seems to refer only to offences committed before the rebellion. In general, it is to be inferred that the Government is much more occupied with confiscating arms and extirpating influential families than with such amenities as schools, law courts and land registers.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

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* Not printed.